# THE COURT AND CHARACTER OF K. James.

Written and taken by Sir *A. W.* being an Eye, and Ear Witness.

*Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare.*

LONDON,
Printed and are to be Sold by *R. Baldwin.* 1689.

+ Anthony Weldon

Case
F.
4651
.967

# The Publisher to the Reader.

63-1137
OI

*Amongst the many remarkable passages in this short relation, the Reader may take notice chiefly of five things here discovered.*

*First, how Almighty God was mockt, and the world abused, by the Tuesday Sermons at Court, and the Anniversary feastivals upon the fifth of* August, *in commemoration of King* James *deliverance from the* Gowries *Conspiracy; whereas indeed*

*there was no such matter, but a meere feigned thing, as appears by the story.*

*Secondly, how this Kingdome was gulled in the supposed treason of Sir* Walter Rawley *and others, who suffered as Traytors; whereas, to this day, it could never be known that ever there was any such treason; but a meer trick of State to remove some blocks out of the way.*

*Thirdly, the fearful imprecation made by King* James *against himself and his Posterity, in the presence of many of his Ser-*

*Servants, and the Judges, even upon his knees, if he should spare any that were found guilty in the poysoning busines of Sir* Tho. Overbury; *but how he failed, this story will tell you; and how the Justice of God hath been; and is upon himself and Posterity, his owne death, by poyson, and the sufferings of his Posterity, doe sufficiently manifest.*

*Fourthly, the untimely death of that hopefull Prince* Henry *is here partly discovered; if the Reader cannot in this Dis-*

*course spell by what hand hee was taken away, yet may he observe a strange connivence at, and contentednesse with the thing done.*

*Fifthly, here we may see what a Slave King* James *was to his Favourites; this appears by many passages of this story, but specially, by his passion at* Greenwich, *when the Lieutenant of the Tower told him of* Somersets *threatning speeches, and by his Agony, till he heard that* Somerset *tooke his Arraignement patiently, and had told no tales.* The

# THE
# Court of King *JAMES*:
## OR,

A general Diſcourſe of ſome ſecret paſſages in State, ſince the death of that ever glorious Queen *Elizabeth*, until this preſent.

By the Anthors own obſervation, who was either an eye, or ear witneſs, or from ſuch aswere actors in them, from their own relation.

UPon the twenty fourth of *March*, 1602. did QE death ſet the moſt glorious Sun that ever ſhined in our Firmament of *England*, (the never to be forgot-

ten Queen *Elizabeth*, of happy memory) about three in the morning, at her Mannour of *Richmond*, not only to the unſpeakable grief of her Servants in particular, but of all her Subjects in general.

And although many of her Courtiers adored that riſing Sun, appearing in the North, yet ſince (not without regret) of their monſtrons ingratitude to that Sun now ſet, and in peace.

No ſooner was that Sun ſet, but Sir *Robert Carew* (her near Kinſman, and whoſe Family, and himſelf, ſhe had raiſed from the degree of a mean Gentleman, to high honor, in title and place) moſt ingratefully did catch at her laſt breath, to carry it to the riſing Sun then in *Scotland*, notwithſtanding a ſtrict charge laid to keep faſt all the Gates, yet (his Father being Lord Chamberlaine,

berlaine, he by that means found favour to get out, to carry the first news; which although it obtained for him the Governourship of the Duke of *York*, yet hath set so wide a mark of ingratitude on him, that it will remain to posterity a greater blot, then the honour he obtained afterward, will ever wipe out.

About nine in the morning of that day, was proclaimed King *James* of blessed memory, by the name of *James* the first; and now nothing on all hands, but preparations for accommodating him in his journey for *England*, many posting into *Scotland* for preferment, either by indearing themselves by some merit of their own to the King, or by purchasing friends with their purses, (Gold and Silver being a precious commodity in that Climate, and would procure any thing)

K. *James* proclaimed King.

and did procure Suits, Honours, & Offices to any that first came; of all which the King afterward extended his bounty, in so large and ample a manner, as procured his own impoverishment, to the pressure of his Subjects, so far as set some distance between him and them, which his wisdom, and Kings craft, could easily at all times reconcile.

Sir Roger Aston K. James his Barber.

The first that came from the King to the Lords in *England*, to give order for all things necessary for the expediting his journey towards *England*, was Sir *Roger Aston*, an *English man* born, but had his breeding wholly in *Scotland*, and had served the King many years as his Barber, an honest & free-hearted man, & of an ancient Family in *Cheshire*, but of no breeding answerable to his birth; yet he was the only man ever imployed, as a Messenger from

from the King to *Q. Elizabeth*, as a Letter-carrier only, which expreſſed their own intentions without any help from him beſides the delivery) but even in that capacity was in very good eſteem with her Majeſty, and received very royal rewards, which did inrich him, and gave him a better Revenue then moſt Gentlemen in *Scotland*; for the Queen did find him as faithful to her as to his Maſter, in which he ſhewed much wiſdom, though of no breeding. In this his imployment I muſt not paſs over one pretty paſſage, I have heard himſelf relate; That he did never come to deliver any Letters from his Maſter, but ever he was placed in the Lobby; the Hangings being turned him, where he might ſee the Queen dancing to a little Fiddle, which was to no other end, then that he ſhould tell his

Maſter by her youthful diſpoſition, how likely he was to come to the poſſeſſion of the Crown he ſo much thirſted after; for you muſt underſtand, the wiſeſt in that Kingdom did believe the King ſhould never enjoy this Crown, as long as there was an old Wife in *England*, which they did believe we ever ſet up, as the other was dead.

Sir *Roger Aſton* preſenting himſelf before the Councel, being but a plain untutored man, being asked how he did, and courted by all the Lords, lighted upon this happy reply; even my Lords, like a poor man, wandring above forty years in a Wilderneſs, and barren Soyl, am now arrived at the Land of Promiſe. This man was afterward made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, Maſter of the Wardrobe, and inveſted with ſuch Ho-

After made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, &c.

Honours, and Offics as he was capable of, and that inabled him to live in a noble way, during his life, and to leave his Daughters great Fortunes; but had you seen how the Lords did vye courteſies to this poor Gentleman, striving who should ingross that Commodity by the largeſt bounty; you could not but have condemned them of much baſeneſs (eſpecially, seeing when at this time, Offices, and great places of Honor will not be accepted from that Son, the Barber of whoſe Father was so much courteh, but to speak a good word in their behalfs; surely the times are much altered.

And now all preparation was made to meet the King in *Yorke*, that he might in that Northern Metropolis appear like a King of *England*, & take that State on him there, which was not known in

Sir *G. Hewme* a kind of Favourite.

*land*; There met him all the Lords of the Councel, & there did they all make Court to the *Scotch-men* that were moſt in favor with the King, and there did the *Scotch* Courtiers lay the firſt foundation of their *Engliſh* Fortunes; the chief of them was Sir *George Hewme*, a kind of Favourite, but not ſuch as after appeared with young Faces, and ſmooth Chins, but one that for his wiſdom and gravity, had been in ſome ſecret Councels with his Maſter, which created that dearneſs between them; and the chief of thoſe ſecrets was that of *Gowries* Conſpiracy, though that Nation gave little credit to the Story, but would ſpeak both ſlightly and deſpitefully of it, and thoſe of the wiſeſt of that Nation; yet there was a weekly commemoration by the Tueſday Sermon, & an anniverſary Feaſt as great as it was poſſible,

possible for the preservation, ever on the fifth of *August*, upon which day as Sir *John Ramsey*, after Earl of *Holdernes*, for his good ervice in that preservation was the principal Guest, so did the King grant him any Boon he would ask that day; but had such limitations set to his asking, as made his Suit as unprofitable unto him, as that he asked it for, was unserviceable to the King, and indeed did make the *English* believe as little the truth of that Story, as the *Scots* themselves did, and yet on my conscience the good Gentleman did in that as a Lyer often doth, by telling a Lye often believeth it to be a very truth; but the truth was, (although he was not a man capable of much himself) yet had it been true, there was too little done for him, being not true too much; for being an Earl he was in very little esteem,

esteem, either with his Master, or with the better sort of Courtiers. And I pray God that the effects of those Sermons in the Fathers time for that service, cause no ill effects, or be not one cause of Gods anger with us in the Sons reign.

This Sir *George Hewme* being the only man that was the Guider of the King, and his affairs, all the wiser sort of *English* made their addresses unto him, amongst those Sir *Robert Cicil*, a very wise man, but much hated in *England*, by reason of the fresh bleeding of that universally beloved Earl of *Essex*, and for that was clouded also in the Kings favour; he came to *York*, but lay close, unseen, or scarce known to be in the City, untill he knew what entertainment he should receive from the King; for he was in his own, and all mens opinions, so under

Sir *Robert Cicil* a Favourite.

under the Hatches, as not ever to appear above board again (nor did any of the Counter-faction to *Essex*, besides himself, ever attaine to the Kings favour;) but those friends raised by his wit, and purse, did so co-operate (of which Sir *Roger Aston*, that plain man was principal, for which he lost not his labor) that Sir *George Hewme*, and Sir *Robert Cicil* had many secret meetings, and did so comply, that Sir *Robert Cicil*, to the admiration of all, did appear, and come out of his Chamber like a Giant, to run his race, for Honor, and Fortune; and who in such dearness, and privacy with the King, as Sir *Robert Cicil*: as if he had been his faithful Servant many years before; yet did not either his Friends, wit, or wealth, raise him so much (as some believe) as the ill offices done by him to this Nation, in discover-

ing

ing the nature of the people, and ſhewing the King the way, how to enhance his Prerogative ſo above the Laws, that he might inſlave the Nation, which though it took well then, yet it hath been of ſad and dangerous conſequence in after times; for firſt, he cauſed a whole Cart-load of Parliament Preſidents, that ſpake the Subjects liberty, to be burnt; next, raiſing two hundred thouſand pound for making two hundred Baronets, telling the King, he ſhould find his *Engliſh* Subjects like Aſſes, on whom he might lay any burthen, & ſhould need neither Bit, nor Bridle, but their Aſſes ears; and when the King ſaid, It would diſcontent the generality of the Gentry, he replyed; Tuſh, Sir, you want the money, that will do you good, the honor will do them very little; and by theſe courſes he raiſed

precedents

raiſed himſelf, friends, and family, to Offices, Honors, and great Poſſeſſions, yet as a puniſhment, he lived long enough to have loſt all, had not death prevented him between the *Bath*, and *London*; for the Duke of *Bullion* being then here, about the overture of that unfortunate Match between the Palſgrave, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, had ſo done his errand, and diſcovered his jugling; it is moſt certain, he had been ſtript of all at his return, which he well underſtanding from his friends at Court, did expedite his end; but he dyed opportunely to ſave his honor, and eſtate, for his Poſterity, though to leave a mark of ignominy on himſelf by that *Herodian* diſeaſe, that for all his great Honors, and Poſſeſſions, and ſtately Houſes, he found no place but the top of a Mole-hill, near *Marleborough* to end

end his miſerable life; ſo that it may be ſaid of him, and truly, he dyed of a moſt loathſome Diſeaſe, without houſe, without pity, without the favour of that Maſter that had raiſed him to ſo high an eſtate; & yet muſt he have that right done him (which is alſo a note of the misfortune of our times) there hath not been any ſince his time that equalled him to fulfil the Proverb, *Seldom comes a better*; he had great parts, was very wiſe, full of honour, and bounty, a great lover and rewarder of Virtue, and able parts in others, ſo they did not aſpire too high in places, or look too narrowly into his actions.

The next came on the publick Theatre in favour, was *Henry Howard*, a younger Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Lord *Thomas Howard*, the one after Earl of *Northampton*, the other Earl

of

of *Suffolk*, Lord Chamberlain, and after Lord Treasurer, who by *Salisburies* greatness with that Family, rather then by any merit, or wildom in themselves, raised many great Families of his Children; *Northampton* though a great Clerk, yet not a wise man, but the grossest Flatterer of the World, and as *Salisbury* by his Wit, so this by his Flattery, raised himself; yet one great motive to the raising of that Name of *Howards* was, the Duke of *Norfolk*, suffering fbr the Queen of *Scots*, the Kings Mother, yet did *Suffolk* so far get the start of *Northampton*, that *Northampton* never after loved him but from teeth outwards, only had so much discretion as not to fall to actual enmity, to the over-throw of both, and the weakning their faction; *Suffolk* also using him with all submissive respect, not for

for any love but hope of gaining his great estate, and sharing it amongst his Children; but *Northamptons* distaste was such, by his loss of the Treasurers place, which he had with such assurance promised to himself in his thoughts, that except what he gave to Master *Henry Howard*, the rest he gave to the Earl of *Arundel*, who by his observance, but more especially by giving *Northampton* all his Estate if he never returned from travel, had wrought himself so far into his affection, that he doted on him.

And now the principal managers of the *English* affairs were *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, *Northampton*, *Buckhurst*, *Egerton*, Lord Keeper, *Worcester*, and the old Admiral for the *Scots*, Sir *George Hewme*, now Earl of *Dunbar*, Secretary *Elfeston*, after Earl of *Balmerino*, and as wise a man as was in *England*, or

*Scot-*

*Scotland*, the Lord of *Kinloſſe*, a very honeſt, but weak man.

You are now to obſerve, that *Salisbury* had ſhaken off all thar were great with him, and of his Faction in Queen *Elizabeths* days, as Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Sir *George Carew*, the Lord *Grey*, the Lord *Cobham*: the three firſt, very able men as the World had, the laſt, but one degree from a fool, yet ſerved their turns better then a wiſer man, by his greatneſs with the Queen, for they would put him on any thing, and make him tell any Lye, with as great confidence as a truth. Three of theſe were utterly ruined, as you ſhall hear in the following Diſcourſe, the fourth being a very wiſe man, contented himſelf with a mean place, that was worthy of a much greater; and although very active formerly, called to mind this ſaying: *Fælix*

*quem faciunt, &c.* and medled with no State buſineſs, his wiſdom foretelling his Fate, if he had done otherwiſe; for he did ſee one better head-peice then his own, ſit tottering at that time, and fell off afterwards, which made him think it was good ſleeping in a whole skin.

Mr. *James Hay* a Favourite.

The King no ſooner came to *London*, but notice was taken of a riſing Favourite, the firſt Meteor of that nature appearing in our climate; as the King caſt his eye upon him for affection, ſo did all the Courtiers, to adore him, his name was Mr. *James Hay*, a Gentleman that long lived in *France*, & ſome ſay, of the *Scottiſh* Guard to that King; this Gentleman coming over to meet the King, and ſhare with him in his new Conqueſt (according to the *Scottiſh* phraſe) it ſhould ſeem had ſome former acquaintance with the

the then Leiger Embaſſadour in *Scotland* for the *French* King, who coming with His Majeſty into *England*, preſented this Gentleman, as a well accompliſhed Gentleman, to the King, in ſuch an high commendation as engendred ſuch a liking as produced a Favourite; in thankful acknowledgement whereof, he did him many fair offices for the preſent, & coming afterwards an extraordinary Embaſſador to our King, made him the moſt ſumptuous Feaſt at *Eſſex* houſe, that ever was ſeen before, never equalled ſince, in which was ſuch plenty (and Fiſh of that immenſity, brought out of *Muſcovia*, that Diſhes were made to contain them (no Diſhes in all *England* before could ne're hold them) and after that a coſtly Voydee, and after that a Mask, of choyſe Noble-men, and Gentlemen, and after that a moſt coſtly

His riſe.

His ſumptuous feaſt.

a parting dish.

coſtly and magnificent Banquet, the King, Lords, and all the prime Gentlemen then about *London* being invited thither. Truly, he was a moſt compleat, and well accompliſhed Gentleman, modeſt, and Court-like, and of ſo fair a demeanor, as made him be generally beloved; and for his wiſdom, I ſhall give you but one character for all: He was ever great with all the Favourites of his time, and although the King did often change, yet he was (*ſemper idem*) with the King, and Favourites, and got by both; for although Favourites had that exorbitant power over the King, to make him grace, and diſgrace whom they pleaſed, he was out of that power, and the only exception to that general rule; and for his gettings, it was more then almoſt all the Favourites of his time, which appeared in thoſe vaſt expen-

His accompliſhment.

expences of all ſorts, and had not the bounty of his mind exceeded his gettings, he might have left the greateſt eſtate that ever our age or climate had heard of; he was indeed made for a Courtier, who wholly ſtudied his Maſter, and underſtood him better then any other.

He was imployed in very many of the moſt weighty affairs, & ſent with the moſt ſtately Embaſſies of our times, which he performed with that wiſdom, & magnificency, that he ſeemed an honor to his King and Country, for his carriage in State affairs; he was termed by ſome Princes the Kings Juggler, he married the Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Denny*, after the Earl of *Northumberlands* Daughter, and was hated of none that ever I heard of, but the Earl of *Northampton*, who had no patience to

ſee him, being himſelf of ſo venemous and cankred a diſpoſition, that indeed he hated all men of noble parts, nor loved any but Flatterers, like himſelf; yet it was a great queſtion, whether he hated the Earl of *Carliſle*, or Sir *Robert Manſel* moſt; by whom he hath been heard to ſay; *Body of God, I will be content to be damned perpetually in Hell, to be revenged of that proud Welſh-man*; and did ſo hate him, that he kept an Inquiſition on him ſeven years, to prove that he had couzened the K. of fourteen thouſand pound, which at the ſeven years end at an hearing before the King, the Lords, the Queen, and all the Ladies being preſent, with all the gallantry of the Court, ended in one pair of ſilk Stockins, given by one for a New-years Gift to Maſter *Wels*, Sir *Robert Manſels* Servant; at which, the King ſtood up

up, and ſware very deeply; *Do you believe I will take a pair of ſilk Stockins for my fourteen thouſand pound, give me that; is this all the fruit of ſeven years Commiſſion?* at which words Sir *Robert Manſel* kneeled down, and ſaid, *I will now Sir take all the faults they can charge my Servant with, upon my ſelf*; at which the King was very angry, that ſo noble a Gentleman, who had ſo well acquitted himſelf, and Honour, ſhould intruſt it in the keeping of a Servant; at the end of all the Earl of *Salisbury* kneeled down, and ſaid; *Sir, if you will ſuffer malice ſo far to prevail, as to have your honeſt Servants traduced, to ſatisfie the humors of any: I beſeech you take my ſtaffe, for were my ſelf, and the Earl of* Worceſter *here preſent, put in the ballance againſt Sir* Robert Manſel, *we ſhould prove too light; I am in a great Place, and cannot ſay, but by*

*my ſelf I may fail, yet not with our own wills; therefore Sir, if you will ſuffer ſuch inquiſitions, there will be no ſerving your Majeſty, in ſuch places as I hold, by your Majeſties favor*; thus ended the Earl of *Northamptons* malice, which only ſerved to honor Sir *Rob. Manſel*, and make a ſcorn of himſelf, and this only to make the venom of this Monſter appear, who did flatter the King, & diſſemble with God.

And now begins Embaſſadors to appear from divers Princes, the Prime was *Roney* D. of *Sulli*, from the *French* King, the Conſtable of *Caſtile* from the *Spaniſh* King, the Count of *Arremberg* from the Arch Duke; the former come to congratulate only, & deſired the confirmation of the ancient amity betwixt the two Crowns, the latter two about the eſtabliſhing a firm Peace betwixt theſe two Kingdoms, that had

had lived in perpetual war, and hatred of each other, by which it might appear where the advantage of ſuch a peace might fail, by thoſe that ſought, or rather bought it with an infinite maſs of treaſure, prodigally caſt about the *Engliſh* Court.

To bring theſe Embaſſadors over, were appointed Sir *Robert Manſel*, Vice-Admiral of the narrow Seas, and Sir *Jerome Turner* his Vice-Admiral; the firſt commanded to attend at *Gravcling* for the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, the latter at *Calis* for the *French*; but the *French* coming firſt, and hearing the Vice-Admiral was to attend him, the Admiral the other; in a ſcorn put himſelf in a Paſſage boat of *Calis*, came forth with flagg in top; inſtantly Sir *Jerome Turner* ſent to know of the Admiral what he ſhould do; Sir *Robert Manſel* ſent him word,

to

to ſhoot, and ſtrike him, if he would not take in the flag; this, as it made the flag be pulled in, ſo a great complaint, and 'twas believed it would have undone Sir *Robert Manſel*, the *French* faction put it ſo home, but he maintained the act, and was the better beloved of his Maſter ever after, to his dying day.

This makes it appear how jealous old Commanders were of their honor, the King, and Kingdoms, which ſince hath been ſo prodigally waſted, as we are utterly bankrupt, having ſpent our old Stock, and not bravery enough to erect a new.

The Conſtable of *Caſtile* ſo plyed his Maſters buſineſs (in which he ſpared for no coſt) that he procured a peace ſo advantagious for *Spaine*, & ſo diſadvantagious for *England*, that it and all Chriſtendom have ſince both

ſeen

ſeen and felt the lamentable effect therof, there was not one Courtier of note, that taſted not of *Spains* bounty, either in Gold, or Jewels, and among them, not any in ſo large a proportion as the Counteſs of *Suffolke*, who ſhared in her Lords intereſt, being then a potent man, and in that intereſt which ſhe had, in being Miſtris to that little great Secretary (little in body and ſtature, but great in wit and policy) the ſole manager of State affairs, ſo it may be ſaid, ſhe was a double ſharer, and in truth *Audley-end*, that famous and great ſtructure, had its foundation of *Spaniſh* Gold.

The King was a peaceable and merciful Prince (yet God for ſome ſecret intent beſt known to himſelf) laid the foundation of his reign, with the greateſt mortality ever before heard of in this Kingdom, by a fearful plague, A great plague.

and

and ſome by that, judged what his future reign would be, yet their wiſdoms failed, for he was a King of mercy as well as peace, never cruel, yet ſurely it had ſome moral.

He was forced by that contagion to leave the Metropolis, and goe into a buy corner in *wiltſhire*, *Wilton* the Earl of *Pembrookes* Houſe, in which time of his abode there, a kind of Treaſon brake forth, but what it was, as no man could then tell, ſo it is left with ſo dark a Comment, that poſterity will never underſtand the Text, or remember any ſuch treaſon, it is true, ſome loſt their lives, yet the world was never ſatisfied of the juſtice, and one of them, (and that the only mark of Tyranny of this good Kings reign) executed many years after without all preſident, and on my conſcience without any juſt cauſe,

cauſe, and even againſt that good Kings will, who in many things was over-awed by his timerous diſpoſition.

But the *Spaniſh* faction, and *Spaniſh* Gold betrayed his life, as they had done the Kingdoms before, and I believe it was one of the greateſt Maſter-peeces of that Embaſſador, to purchaſe *Rawleighs* head, yet had not *Briſtol* cooperated, the K. would never have conſented, and it may be he had his ſecret ends, fearing his wiſdom might once again have raiſed him, to have looked over *Sherborne* Caſtle, once his own, & how unjuſtly taken from him God will one day judge; I know not whether there be a curſe on thoſe that are owners of it, as Fables report, but I am confident there is a curſe on *Briſtol* for taking away his life; I will not take upon me too far to pry into Gods

Gods Arke, yet what is like to befal him, and hath already, his ſon (as hopeful a Gentleman as any in the Kingdom) may give ſome token of Gods anger againſt him and his Family.

A narration of the Treaſon charged on *Rawleigh*, &c.

But becauſe I will not leave you altogether blinde-folded, I ſhall as near as I can lead you to the diſcovery of this Treaſon, which conſiſted of Proteſtants, Puritants, Papiſts, and Atheiſts: a ſtrange medley you will ſay, to meet in one and the ſame Treaſon, & keep counſel, which ſurely they did, becauſe they knew not of any; the Proteſtants were the Lord *Cobham*, & *George Brook* his Brother, the one very learned and wiſe, the other a moſt ſilly Lord, the Puritan the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, a very hopeful Gentleman, blaſted in the very Bud; the Papiſts *Watſon*, and *Clarke*, Prieſts; and *Parham* a Gentleman, the Atheiſt.

Atheiſt, Sir *walter Rawleigh* then generally ſo believed, though after brought by affliction ( the beſt School-Miſtris ) to be, and ſo dyed, a moſt religious Gentleman. This treaſon was compounded of moſt ſtrange ingredients, (and more ſtrange then true) it was very true, moſt of theſe were diſcontented, to ſee *Salisbury* their old friend ſo high, to trample on them, that before had been his chief ſupporters ( and being ever of his faction ) now neglected and contemned; it was then believed an errand trick of State to over-throw ſome, and diſable others, knowing their ſtrong abilities might otherwiſe live to over-throw *Salisbury*, for they were intimate in all his ſecret Councels for the ruine of *Eſſex*, eſpecially *Rawleigh*, *Grey*, and *Cobham*; though the latter was a fool, yet had been very uſeful

to

to them (as the Toole in the hand of the Work-man) to have ſingled out theſe without ſome Prieſts, which were Traytors by the Law, had ſmelt too rank, and appeared too poor and plaine a trick of State; and *Salisbury* in this had a double benefit: Firſt, in ridding himſelf of ſuch as he feared would have been thornes in his ſides. Secondly, by endearing himſelf to the King, by ſhewing his diligence, and vigilancy for his ſafety, ſo that it might be ſaid of him as of *Cæſar* in another caſe (*Inveniam aut faciam*) I will either find out a Treaſon or make one, and this had been a pretty trick had it been only to diſgrace, without taking away Life; but how this peece of policy may ſtand with Religion, I fear by this time he too well underſtands; and this Plot as near as I can tell you (and I dare ſay my intelligence

gence gave me as near a gueſs as ever any man had) was, that all theſe in a diſcontented humor had by *Watſon*, and *Clark*, being Confeſſors, dealt with Count *Aremberge*, the Arch Dukes Embaſſador, to negotiate with the Arch Duke to raiſe an Army, and invade *England*, and they would raiſe another of Papiſts, and Malecontents to joyn, for you muſt underſtand the King was believed an errand Puritan, (*Cujus contrarium verum eſt*) how likely this Plot was, let the world judge, that the King of *Spaine*, who had bought peace at ſo dear a rate, and found it ſo advantagious to him, by the lamentable experience he had formerly in the wars with this formidable ſtate, ſhould ſeek to break it ſo ſoon; and had it been a real Treaſon, the ſtate had been bound to have rewarded theſe Traytors, as the beſt

peece of ſervice done in *England* all that Kings reign (it was indeed thoſe that made the Peace, not thoſe that endeavoured the breaking of it, were the Traytors, and are to be curſed by all Poſterity) yet this fooliſh Plot ſerved well enough to take ſome blocks out of the way, that might afterwards have made ſome of them ſtumble, to the breaking of their own necks.

They were all Arraigned of Treaſon at *Wincheſter*, whither the King ſent ſome ſecretly to obſerve all paſſages, upon whoſe true and faithful relations of the innocency of the Perſons Arraigned, and ſlight proof upon which they were condemned, he would not be drawn to ſign any Warrant for the execution of *Rawleigh*, *Cobham*, and *Grey*, very hardly for any of the reſt, the two Prieſts excepted.

For

For *Rawleighs* defence, it was so brave and juſt, as (had he not wilfully caſt himſelf, out of very wearineſs, as unwilling to detain the Company longer) no Jury could ever have caſt him; all the Evidence brought againſt him was *Cobhams* Accuſation, which he only deſired might appear (*viva voce*) and he would yield without further defence, but that they knew full well *Cobham* would not, nor could not accuſe him, having been tampered with by *Wade*, then Lieutenant of the Tower, and *Salisburies* great Creature; *Wade* deſired it under his hand, that alſo he refuſed, at laſt *Wade* got a trick by his cunning, to ſurprize *Cobhams* weakneſs, to get him write his name to a Blank, to which *Wade*, no queſtion, wrote the accuſation, as will appear hereafter; for *Salisbury* urging *Rawleigh* often, if *Cob-*

*ham* had accuſed him under his hand would he then yield; *Rawleigh* replyed, He knew *Cobham* weak of Judgement, and did not know how that weakneſs might be wrought upon, but was confident he would not to his face accuſe him, and therefore would not put his fortune and all on that; at which fence he ſtood till nine at night: at laſt his fate carried him againſt his reaſon, and he yielded upon the producing his hand, which was inſtantly pulled out (and was in truth his hand) but not his act, or deed; ſo at that preſent was *George Brooke*, *Watſon*, and *Clarke* executed, *Parham* acquitted, and Sir *Wal. Rawleigh* executed many years after for the ſame treaſon, as much againſt all reaſon, as all, or any preſident; yea after he had been a General by the Kings Commiſſion, and had by that, power of the

the Lives of many others, utterly againſt the Civil Law, which ſaith, *He that hath power of the Lives of others, ought to be Maſter of his own.*. But the *Spaniard* was ſo powerful at that time at Court, as that Faction could command the Life of any man that might prove dangerous to their deſigns; *Grey* and *Cobham* dyed in their reſtraint, the one much pitied, the other ſcorned, and his death as baſe, for he dyed louſie for want of Apparel, and Linnen; and had ſtarved, had not a Trencher-ſcraper ſome time his Servant in Court relieved him with ſcraps, in whoſe houſe he dyed, being ſo poor a houſe as he was forced to creep up a Ladder into a little whole to his Chamber; which was a ſtrange judgement, and unpreſidented, that a man of ſeven thouſand pound *per annum*, and of a perſonal eſtate of thirty

Count Gondemar

thouſand pounds (of all which the King was cheated, of what ſhould Eſcheated to him, that he could not give him any maintenance, as in all caſes the King doth, unleſs out of his own Revenue of the Crown, which was the occaſion of this Lords want, (his Wife being very rich, would not give him the crums that fell from her table;) and this was a juſt judgment of God on him; and now, becauſe it will be pertinent in this place to let you underſtand, that *Rawleigh* had his Life ſurreptiouſly taken away, I ſhall give you a true ſtory.

Queen *Anne*; that brave Princeſs, was in a deſperate, and believed, incurable Diſeaſe, whereof the Phiſitians were at the furtheſt end of their ſtudies to find the cauſe, at a *Non-plus* for the Cure, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, being by his long ſtudies an admirable

Chymiſt,

Chymiſt, undertook, and perfor-
med the Cure, for which he would
receive no other reward, but that
her Majeſty would procure that
certain Lords might be ſent to
examin *Cobham*, whether he had
accuſed Sir *Walter Rawleigh* of
Treaſon at any time under his
hand; the King at the Queens
requeſt (and in Juſtice could do
no leſs) ſends ſix Lords, which
I take were, the Duke of *Leonox*,
*Salisbury*, *Worceſter*, *Suffolk*, Sir
*George Carew*, and Sir *Julius Cæſar*,
to demand of *Cobham*, whether
he had not under his hand accu-
ſed Sir *Walter Rawleigh* at *Winche-
ſter*, upon that Treaſon he was Ar-
raigned for; *Cobham* did proteſt
never, nor could he, but ſaid he,
That Villain *Wade* did often ſo-
licite me, and not prevailing, got
me by a trick to write my name
upon a piece of white Paper,
which I thinking nothing, did, ſo

that if any Charge came under my hand, it was forged by that Villain *Wade*, by writing ſomething above my hand without my conſent or knowledge. Theſe ſix returning to the King, made *Salisbury* their Spokeſ-man, who ſaid, Sir, my L. *Cobham* hath made good all that ever he wrote, or ſaid, & this was an equivocating trick, for it was true, he made good what ever he writ; but never wrote any thing to accuſe *Rawleigh*; by which you ſee the baſeneſs of theſe Lords, the credulity of the King, and the ruin of Sir *walter Rawleigh*. I appeal now to the judgement of all the world, whether theſe ſix Lords were not the immediate Murtherers, and no queſtion, ſhall be called to a ſad account for it.

And thus have you a true relation of the Treaſon, & Traytors, with all the windings & turnings

in

in it, and all paſſages appertaining to it; and by it, you may ſee the ſlavery theſe great men were inſlaved in by *Salisbury*, that none durſt teſtifie ſuch a truth, as the not teſtifying, loſt their moſt precious Souls.

And now doth the King return to *Windſor*, where there was an apparition of *Southamptons* being a Favourite to his Majeſty, by that privacy and dearneſs preſented to the Court view, but *Salisbury* liking not that any of *Eſſex* his faction ſhould come into play, made that app rition appear as it were in *tranſitu*, and ſo vaniſhed, by putting ſome jealouſies into the Kings head, which was ſo far from jealouſie, that he did not much deſire to be in his Queens company, yet love and regality muſt admit of no partnerſhip.

Then was there in requital of the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadors, two ſtately

ſtately Embaſſies addreſſed, the one to *Spaine*, the other to the Arch Duke, to have that peace they ſo dearly purchaſed confirmed, and ſworn to by ours, as formerly by them; the old Lord Admiral was ſent to *Spain*, the Earl of *Hartford* for *Bruxels*, that the Duke of *Leonox* might have the better opportunity. The *Spaniard* was aſtonied at the braveneſs of our Embaſſie, and the handſome Gentlemen (in both which, few Embaſſies ever equalled this) for you muſt underſtand the Jeſuits reported our Nation to be ugly, and like Devils, as a puniſhment ſent to our Nation for caſting off the Popes ſupremacy; & they pictured Sir *Francis Drake* generally half a Man, half a Dragon; When they beheld them after the Shape of Angels, they could not well tell whether to truſt their own eyes, or their Con-

Confeſſors reports, yet they then appeared to them, as to all the world, monſtrous Lyers.

The Embaſſador had his reception with as much ſtate, as his entertainment with bounty, the King defraying all charges, and they were detained at their Landing longer then ordinary, to have proviſions prepared in their paſſage to *Madrid*, with all the bounty was poſſible, to make the whole Country appear a Land of *Canaan*, which was in truth, but a Wilderneſs.

In their abode there, although they gave them Roſt-meat, yet they beat them with the ſpits, by reporting that the *Engliſh* did ſteal all the Plate, when in truth it was themſelves, who thought to make Hay while the Sun ſhined, not thinking ever more to come to ſuch a Feaſt, to fill their purſes as well as their bellies, (for food

food and coyn, are equally alike ſcarce with that Nation) this report paſſed for currant, to the infinite diſhonour of our Nation, there being at that time the prime gallantry of our Nation.

Sir *Robert Manſel*, who was a man born to vindicate the honour of his Nation as his own, being Vice-Admiral, and a man on whom the old Admiral wholly relyed, having diſpatched the Ships to be gone the next morning, came in very late to Supper; Sir *Richard Leviſon* ſitting at the upper end of the table amongſt the Grandees, the Admiral himſelf not ſupping that night, being upon the diſpatch of Letters, the table upon Sir *Robert Manſels* entrance offered to riſe, to give him place, but he ſate down inſtantly at the lower end, and would not let any man ſtir, and falling to his meat, did eſpy a *Spaniard*, as the

the Diſhes emptied, ever putting ſome in his boſome, ſome in his breeches, that they both ſtrutted, Sir *Robert Manſel* ſent a Meſſage to the upper end of the table to Sir *Richard Leviſon*, to be delivered in his eare, that whatſoever he ſaw him do, he ſhould deſire the Gentlemen and Grandees to ſit quiet, for there ſhould be no cauſe of any diſquiet; on the ſudden Sir *Robert Manſel* ſteps up, takes this *Spaniard* in his armes, at which the table began to riſe; Sir *Richard Leviſon* quiets them, brings him up to the end amongſt the Grandees, then puls out the Plate from his boſome, breeches, and every part about him, which did ſo amaze the *Spaniard*, and vindicate that aſperſion caſt on our Nation, that never after was there any ſuch ſillable heard, but all honour done to the Nation, and all thanks to him in particular.

From

From thence, next day they went for *Madrid*, where all the royal entertainment *Spaine* could yield was given them, and at the end of the Grand entertainment & Revels, which held moſt part of the night; as they were all returning to their Lodgings, the ſtreet being made light by white Wax lights, and the very night forced into a day, by ſhining light, as they were paſſing in the ſtreet, a *Spaniard* catcheth off Sir *Robert Manſels* hat, with a very rich jewel in it, and away he flies; Sir *Robert* not being of a ſpirit to have any thing violently taken from him, nor of ſuch a Court-like complement, to part with a jewel of that price, to one no better acquainted with him, hurls open the Boot, follows after the fellow, and ſome three Gentlemen did follow him, to ſecure him, houſeth the Fellow in the houſe

of

of an Algnarel, which is a great Officer, or Judge in *Spaine*; this Officer wondring at the manner of their coming, the one with his hat, and ſword in his hand, the other with all their ſwords; Demands the cauſe, They tell him; he ſaith, ſurely none can think his houſe a ſanctuary, who is to puniſh ſuch offenders; but Sir *Robert Manſel* would not be ſo put off with the *Spaniards* gravity, but enters the houſe, leaving two at the Gate, to ſee that none ſhould come out, whiles he ſearched, a long time they could find nothing, & the Algnarel urging this as an affront, at laſt, looking down into a Well of a ſmall depth, he ſaw the fellow ſtand up to the neck in water; Sir *Rob. Manſel* ſeized on his hat, and jewel, leaving the fellow to the Algnarel, but he had much rather have fingered the jewel, and his gravity

vity told Sir *Robert Manſel*, he could not have it without form of Law, which Sir *Robert* diſpenced with, carrying away his hat, and jewel, and never heard further of the buſineſs; now the truth was, the fellow knew his Burrough well enough, as well as ſome Thieves of our Nation, after they have done a Robbery, would put themſelves into a Priſon of their acquaintance, aſſuring themſelves none would ſearch there; or rather as our Recorders of *London*, whoſe chief revenue, for themſelves, and ſervants, is from Thieves, Whores, & Bawds, therefore this Story cannot ſeem ſtrange in *England*.

The other Embaſſador ſent to the Arch Duke was, the old Earl of *Hertford*, who was conveyed over by one of the Kings Ships, by Sir *William Monſon*, in whoſe paſſage a *Dutch* Man of War coming

ing by that Ship, would not vail, as the manner is, acknowledging by that, our Soveraignty over the Sea, Sir *William Monſon* gave him a ſhot to inſtruct him manners, but inſtead of hearing, he taught him by returning another, he acknowledged no ſuch Soveraignty, this was the very firſt indignity and affront ever offered to the royal ſhips of *England*, which ſince have been moſt frequent; Sir *William Monſon* deſired my Lord of *Hertford* to goe into the Hold, and he would inſtruct him by ſtripes, that refuſed to be taught by fair means; but the Earl charged him on his allegiance firſt to land him, on whom he was appointed to attend; ſo to his great regreet, he was forced to endure that indignity, for which I have often heard him wiſh he had been hanged, rather then live that unfortunate Commander of

a Kings Ship, to be Chronicled for the first that ever endured that affront, although it was not in his power to have helped it; yet by his favor, it appeared but a copy of his countenance, for it had been but hazarding hanging to have disobeyed my Lords Commandement, & it had been infinite odds he had not been hanged, having to friend him, the House of *Suffolke*; nor would he have been so sensible of it, had he not been of the *Spanish* Faction, and that a *Dutch* ship.

Now did these great Mannagers of the State (of which *Salisbury* was chief) after they had packed the Lords, begin to deal the government of the Kingdom amongst themselves, and perswaded the King to leave the State affairs to them, and to betake himself to some Country recreations, which they found him addicted

dicted unto, for the City, and buſineſs, did not agree with him; to that end purchaſed, built, and repaired at *New-market*, and *Royſton*, and this pleaſed the Kings humor well, rather that he might enjoy his Favourite with more privacy, then that he loved the ſport; then muſt *Theobalds* be in his own poſſeſſion, as not fit for a King to be beholding to a Subject for an Houſe of daily uſe, but becauſe the King had ſo much want of monies to expreſs his love, & bounty to his Native Nation, *Salisbury* would exchange, & made ſuch an advantage, that he ſold his Houſe for fifty years purchaſe, and that ſo cunningly, as hardly to be diſcerned, but by a curious ſight, for he fleeted off the cream of the Kings Mannors in many Counties, not any two lying in any one County, & made choyce of the moſt in the

remoteſt Counties, only built his neſt at *Hatfield*, within the County where his Father had built his, yet kept he ſtill his Houſe of *Theobalds*, for he and his poſterity were to be perpetual Keepers of the Houſe, and Parks adjacent; by this he not only ſhewed his wiſdom for his own benefit, but to the world (what the Kings natural diſpoſition was) to be eaſily abuſed, and would take counterfeit Coyn for currant payment.

And to fit the Kings humor and diſſolve him in that delight he was moſt addicted to, as well as to ſerve *Salisburies* own ends, and ſatisfie his revenge upon ſome neighbor Gentlemen, that formerly would not ſell him ſome convenient parcels of Land neighbouring on *Theobalds*, he puts the King on enlarging the Park, walling, and ſtoring it with red Dear; and I dare affirm, with that

that work he was ſo well pleaſed, and did more glory in, then his Predeceſſors did in the conqueſt of *France*; and as it was moſt true, ſo an ill Omen, that the King loved Beaſts better then men, and took more delight in them, and was more over the life of a Stagg then of a man; yet this was the weakneſs of his judgement, and poorneſs of his Spirit, rather then any innate cruelty, for he was not naturally cruel over lives, though in diſplacing Officers, which naturally he did believe, was as glorious, as to overthrow, and conquer Kings.

But yet for all their ſetting their Cards, and playing their Games to their own advantages, of getting much for themſelves, and friends, there was one Knave in the Pack, would couſen their deſigns, and Trump in their way, if he might not ſhare with

them in their winning; that was one *Lake*, a Clerk of the Signet, after Secretary, and after that turned out in disgrace; and in truth, was only wise in the worlds opinion, could swim being held up by the chin; but at his fall all his weaknesses were discovered, and that the world had been deceived in him, I will instance in one particular, amongst many, that shall give you full assurance, being in disgrace, he gave two thouland pound but to kiss the Kings hand, believing that after that, he might have access as formerly; after he had paid his mony, he was never suffered to see the King more, only jeered at by all the Court for his folly, and went sneaking up and down contemned of all men.

This *Lake* was a Fellow of mean birth, and meaner breeding, being an under Servant to make

make Fires in Secretary *Walsinghams* Chamber, and there got some experience, which afterwards in the Kings time made him appear an able man, which in the Queens time, when there was none in Court but men of eminencies, made him an inconsiderable Fellow; this *Lake* had linked himself in with the *Scottish* Nation, progging for Suits, & helping them to fill their Purses, as they did believe, there was not so able a man in the Kingdom (for in truth ever since Queen *Elizabeths* death, the raising mony hath been the only way to raise men, as being held the essential property of a wise man, to know how to bring in mony (*per fas aut nefas*) and amongst all the *Scots*, he wholly applyed himself to those of the Bed-chamber, and of neareſt access to His Majesty.

For his good service of abusing

his Country, and Country-men, he was made Clerk of the Signet, to wait on the King in his Hunting journies, and in these journies got all the Bills signed, even for the greatest Lords (all Packets being addressed to him) so that even *Salisbury*, and *Northampton*, and the greatest Lords made Court to him; by this means did he raise himself from a mean to a great fortune, but so over-awed by his Wife, that if he did not what she commanded, she would beat him, and in truth his Wife was afterward his over-throw; besides, he would tell Tales, and let the King know the passages of Court, and great men, as who was *Saliburies* Mistris, and governed all; who governed *Northampton*, and discovered the Bawdery, which did infinitely please the Kings humor, & in truth had so much craft, as he

he ſerved his turn upon all, but was ingroſſed by none but by the Bed-chamber, who ſtuck ſo cloſe to him, that they could not yet remove him. And now do the *Engliſh* Faction (ſeeing they could not ſever the *Scots* from him) endeavor to raiſe a mutiny againſt the *Scots* that were his ſupporters, their Agents divulging every where, the *Scots* would get all, & would begger the Kingdom; the *Scots* on the other ſide complain to the King, they were ſo poor, they under-went the by-word of beggerly *Scots*; to which the K. returned this anſwer (as he had a very ready wit) Content your ſelves, I will ſhortly make the *Engliſh* as beggerly as you, and ſo end that controverſie; this is as true as he truly performed it, for however he enriched many in particular, as *Saliſbury*, *Suffolk*, *Northampton*, *Worceſter*, *Lake*, &c. yet he

he did begger himself, and the Nation in general.

This also was inculcated into the ears of the Parliament, when that great business about the union was in debate, which was much crossed by that opinion; if he had already impoverished the Kingdom: by the union, they would bankrupt it. But since you see by their own valour and bravery of spirit, they have made us begg a re-union with them, and for ought we see, all our happiness is derived from their favours.

They that lived at Court, and were curious observers of every mans actions, could have then affirmed, that *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, and *Northampton*, & their friends did get more then the whole Nation of *Scotland*, (*Dunbar* excepted) for whatever others got, they spent here, only *Dunbar* laid a foun-

foundation of a great Family, which did all revert into *England* again, with his Daughters marriage with the House of *Suffolk*, so in truth, all the water run to their Mills.

It is most true, that many *Scots* did get much, but not more with one hand, then they spent with the other, witness the Earl of *Kelley*, *Annandale*, &c. nay, that great Getter, the Earl of *Carlisle* also, and some private Gentlemen; as *Gideon Murrey*, *John Ashmoty*, *James Baily*, *John Gib*, and *Barnard Lindley*, got some pretty estate, not worthy either the naming or enjoying; old Servants should get some moderate estates to leave to posterity.

But these, and all the *Scots* in general, got, scarce the Tythe of those *English* Getters, that can be said did stick by them or their posterity; besides, *Salisbury* had one

one trick to get the kernel, and leave the *Scots* but the shell, yet cast all the envy on them; He would make them buy Books of Fee-farms, some one hundred pound *per annum*, some on hundred Marks, and he would compound with them for a thousand pound, which they were willing to embrace, because they were sure to have them pass without any controle, or charge, and one thousand pound appeared to them that never saw ten pound before, an inexhaustible treasure; then would *Salisbury* fill up this Book with such prime Land, as should be worth 10 or 20 thousand pound, which was easie for him, being Treasurer, so to do, & by this means *Salisbury* inriched himself infinitely, yet cast the envy on the *Scots*, in whose names these Books appeared, and are still upon Record to all posterity;

though

though *Salisbury* had the Honey, they poor Gentlemen but part of the Wax; *Dunbar* only had his Agents, and could play his own Game, which they durst not crosse; so was the poor King and State cheated on all hands.

And now did a contention arise between the *English* and *Scots*, about the election of a Favourite, out of whether Nation he should come; now was *Montgomery* in the waine, being given more to his own pleasures, then to observe the King, so that alway the Earl of *Carlisle* did invest him in his room; he as soon by his neglective carriage did devest himself, yet was he ever in the Ks. good opinion, & one that he put more trust in at that time of his death, then in all his other servants.

Then was a young Gentleman, Master *Robert Carre*, who had his breeding in *France*, & was newly re-

Mr. *Carre* his rise,

returned from Travail, a Gentleman very handsome, and well bred, and one that was observed to spend his time in serious studies, and did accompany himself with none but men of such eminencies, as by whom he might be bettered; this Gentlman, the *Scots* so wrought it, that they got him into a Grooms place of the Bedchamber, and was very well pleasing to all; he did more then any other Associate himself, with Sir *Thomas Overbury*, a man of excellent parts, (but those made him proud, over-valuing himself, and under-valuing others, and was infected with a kind of insolency) with this Gentleman spent he most of his time, and drew the eyes of the Court, as well as the affection of his Master upon him, yet very few, but such as were the curious observers, of those times could discern, the drawing of the Kings

Kings affection, untill upon a Coronation day, riding in with the L. *Dingwel* to the Tilt-yard, his Horse fell with him, & brake his legg, he was instantly carried into Master *Riders* house at *Charing-cross*, & the news as instantly carried to the King, having little desire to behold the triumph, but much desired to have it ended, & no sooner ended, but the K. went instantly to visit him, and after, by his daily visiting, and mourning over him, taking all care for his speedy recovery, made the day-break of his glory appear, every Courtier now concluding him, now actually a favourite.

Lord! how the great men flocked then to see him, and to offer to his Shrine in such abundance, that the King was forced to lay a restraint, least it might retard his recovery by spending his spirits: and to facilitate the cure,

care

care was taken for a choyse Dyet for himself, and Chirugions, with his Attendants, and no sooner recovered but a proclaimed Favourite.

Then the *English* Lords, who formerly coveted an *English* Favourite ( and to that end the Countess of *Suffolk* did look out choyse young men, whom she daily curled, and perfumed their breaths ) left all hope, and she her curling and perfuming, all adoring this rising Sun, every man striving to invest himself into this mans favour ( not sparing for bounty nor flattery ) which was not hard to be obtained, being naturally more addicted to the *English* then to the *Scotch*, in so much that he endeavoured to forget his native Country, and his Fathers house, having none of note about him but *English*, and but one besides *English*, in any fami-

familiarity with him, which was Sir *Robert Carre* his Kinſman; but above all, was Sir *Thomas Overbury* his *Pythias*, then was the ſtrife between *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, who ſhould engroſs him, and make him their Monopoly; each preſenting, proffering, and accumulating favors upon *Overburies* kindred, the Father made a Judge in *Wales*, & himſelf offered an office, but *Overbury*, naturally of an inſolent ſpirit, which was elevated by being ſo intimate with a favourite, and wholly having ingroſſed that commodity, which could not be retayled, but by him and his favor; with a kind of ſcorn neglected their friendſhips, yet made uſe of both.

Now was *Carre* Knighted, and made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and *Overburies* pride roſe with the others honors, ſtill ſtorming the Chapman, as they

Mr. *Carre* Knighted.

did by their cheap offices undervalue so precious a commodity.

*Northampton* finding himself neglected by so mean a fellow, cast about another way, & followed *Balaams* councel, by sending a *Moabitish* Woman unto him, in which he made use of *Copinger* a Gentleman, who had spent a fair fortune left by his Ancestors, and now, for maintenance, was forced to lead the life of a Serving man, (that formerly kept many to serve him) and as an addition, the worst of that kind, a flat Bawd.

*Northampsons* plot upon him.

This Gentleman had lived a scandalous life, by keeping a Whore of his own, which for the honor of her Family I will not name, therefore was fittest to trade in that commodity for another, and in truth was fit to take any impression baseness could stamp on him, as the sequel of this Story will manifest; This

*Moabitish*

*Moabitish* Woman was a Daughter of the Earl of *Suffolk*, married to a young noble Gentleman, the Earl of *Essex*.

This Train took, and the first private meetings were at *Copingers* house, and himself Bawd to their Lust, which put him into a far greater bravery for a time, then when he was Master of his own, but it had bitterness on all hands in the end. This privacy in their stollen pleasures, made *Copinger* a friend to *Northampton*, and *Suffolk*, though but a Servant to Viscount *Rochester*, for so now was he called, and now had they linked him so close, as no breaking from them.

*Overbury* was that *John Baptist* that reproved the Lord, for the Sin of using the Lady, and abusing the young Earl of *Essex*; would call her Strumpet, her Mother and Brother Bawds, and used

them with so much scorn, as in truth was not to be endured by a fellow of his rank, to persons of that quality, how faulty soever otherwise they were.

Then to satisfie *Overbury*, and blot out the name of Sin, his Love led him into a more desperate way, by a resolution to marry another mans Wife, against this then did *Overbury* bellow lowder, and in it, shewed himself more like an affectionate, then a discreet and moderate friend: had he compounded but one dram of discretion with an ounce of affection, he might with such a receipt, have preserved his own life, and their fortunes and honors.

For those that infinitely hated that Family, did as infinitely condemn his insolent carriage, and behavior towards them; so that had any of those Brothers, or name, killed *Overbury*, either by

picking

picking a quarrel with him, or Piſtolling him, or any other deſperate way, or bravely in a Duel, upon ſome other ground of a quarrel, then blemiſhing their Siſter, the world would have juſtified the action, however he had ſtood with God; but *Buchanons* character of that Family, bars all expectation of ſo much bravery of ſpirit; but a Counſel muſt be held, to put him to death by ſome baſer means.

The Plot then muſt be, he muſt be ſent a Leidger Embaſſadour into *France*, which by obeying, they ſhould be rid of ſo great an eye-ſore; by diſobeying, he incurred the diſpleaſure of his Prince; a contempt, that he could not expect leſs then impriſonment for, and by that means be ſequeſtred from his friends. The Plot againſt *Overbury*.

And thus far I do believe the Earl of *Sommerſet* (for ſo was

he now created) was consenting; this Stratagem took, and *Overbury* might truly say, (*Video meliora, deteriora sequor*) for he indeed made the worst choyse, it could not be thought, but such an imployment was far above his desert, and much better for him to have accepted, then to be confined to a loathsome Prison, and for want of judgement, had his suffering been less then loss of Life, he had not been worthy of pity; but, *Jupiter quos vult perdere hos dementat*; he would to the Tower, from whence he never returned, rather than accept of an Honourable imployment, from whence he might not only have returned, but done his friends acceptable service, either in private, or publick.

In his managing of this business (that wisdom which formerly he had been esteemed for) suffered under

under the censure of Wise men, as well as Fools. Having him now fast in Prison, *Herodias* by pleasing her *Herod* must also ask, an have his life; for, *per scelus ad scelera tutior est via.* To that end they preferred *Empasides* to be servant to Sir *Gervase Elwaies*, then Lieutenant of the Tower, this Gentleman was ever held wise, & honest, but unfortunate in having that place thrust upon him without his thought; he was also so religious, as few in the Court did equal him; so wise, as he obtained that Character of, Wise Sir *Gervase Elwaies*, yet neither could his wisdom, nor the opinion of his religion and honesty, prevent that Fate, he was so ignorant of the Plot, as he never dreampt of any such matter, until one day, as it should seem, *weston* being told, *Elwaies* did know wherefore he was preferred unto

him, to wait on *Overbury*; he asked the Lieutenant, whether he ſhould now do it, *Elwaies* asked him, what? *weſton* at that being ſomewhat abaſhed, *Elwaies* eſpyedit, preſently ſaid, no not yet; for he did believe there was ſomething known to *Weſton*; inſtantly he haſted away (being a little before Dinner) and went into his Study, & ſent for *Weſton* to come unto him, examining him of the meaning of that queſtion; at laſt by fair means, and threatning together, got the truth; then *Elwaies*, as he well could, laid before *Weſton* the horridneſs of the Fact, the torments of Hell, & the unaſſurance of his momentary enjoying, of either reward or favor after the Fact done, but that it muſt follow, ſo many Perſonages of Honor, would never cabinet ſuch a ſecret in his breaſt, that might ruine them;

them; at last made him so sensible of his danger in this life, but more sensible of the torments in the other, that *Weston* falling on his knees said; *O Lord, how good and gracious art thou, & thy mercy is above all thy works; for this day is salvation come to my Soul, and I would not for all the world have had such a sin upon me*: giving the Lieutenant humble thanks, that had been the instrument of saving his Soul, by putting him off from so foul intentions.

The Lieutenant having now thus renewed grace in him, by making him, as he thought, a new man; thou and I have a dangerous part to act, yet be honest and true to me, and I doubt not, but with Gods help, we shall perform it well, both before God and the world; *Weston* faithfully promised him, and for a long time as faithfully performed with him; the

the Lieutenant willed him, to bring all such things as were sent him to give *Overbury*, unto him, which he accordingly did; the Lieutenant ever gave them to Cats and Dogs, which he ever had ready in his study for that purpose; some dyed presently, some lay lingering a longer time, all which with the Jellies and Tarts sent to *Overbury* he cast into his Privy, they destaining the very Dishes.

This continued long, the Earl ever sending to visit *Overbury*, assuring him he did not forget his release, which should not be long deferred, wherein most men did verily believe he meant both nobly, and truly, though others conjectured his meaning was a dissolution: at last the Countess sent for *Weston*, reviling him, and calling him, Treacherous Villain, for had he given those things sent,

he

he had not been now alive; vowing, she would be revenged on him; upon the very fear whereof, he after gave those poysons sent, without acquainting the Lieutenant; yet for all this schooling of *Weston*, and his assurance given of his future fidelity to the Countess, she would not trust him single any more, but put another Co-adjutor to him, one *Frankelin*, a verier Villain then *Weston*, and truly they may be deemed very ill, that could seek out such instruments.

These two Villains came into *Overburies* Chamber, and found him in infinite torment, with contention between the strength of Nature, and the working of the Poyson, and it being very like, Nature had gotten the better in that contention, by the thrusting out of boyls, botches, and blains, they fearing it might come to light

light, upon the judgement of Phiſitians, that foul play had been offered him, conſented to ſtifle him with the Bed-cloaths, which accordingly was performed, and ſo ended his miſerable life, with the aſſurance of the Conſpirators, that he dyed by poyſon; none thinking otherwiſe, but theſe two Murtherers.

Now was all, as they believed, quiet, and in the depth of ſecurity, and the Earl and Counteſs began to carry their loves more openly, and impudently, ſo that the world did talk very loudly, & broadly of this adulterous meeting, it muſt from that ground proceed to an adulterous Marriage, as well to the wronging a young Noble man, as to the diſhonor and ſhame of themſelves, *But they muſt needs goe the Devil drives*: yet know not how, handſomely to effect this, but by making

making the King a Party in this bawdy buſineſs, which was no hard matter to effect; for the Kings eye began to wander after a new Favourite, being ſatiated with he old; therefore for the bringing this bawdry to a Marriage, the Biſhops muſt be principal actors (as I know not in what bad action, they would not be lookers on) and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, an excellent Civillian, & a very great Scholler, muſt be the principal, for which his Son was Knighted; & will never loſe that title of Sir *Nullity Bilſon*.

For by a nullity of the firſt Marriage, muſt this ſecond take place; many meetings of the Biſhops and the prime Civillians, in which there wanted no bribes from the Lord, Lady, and their Friends, to have this nullity brought to paſs, wherein the Diſcourſe would have better befitted the

the mouths of Bawds, & Ruffians, then the grave Divines; among them Bishop *Neale*, then Bishop of *Rochester*, a Creature and Favourite of the House of *Suffolk*, took up a learned discourse in the science of Bawdery, how many degrees in that science must produce a Nullity, wherein were so many beastly expressions, as for modesty sake I will not recite them, being offensive to my very thoughts and memory; *Aristotles* Problemes was a modest Discourse to his, and he appeared to be better studied in that, then in Divinity, and to winde up his learned Discourse, concluded, all those met in this Lord, and Lady.

The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Abbot*, to his everlasting fame, mainly opposed all the proceedings, and protested against them, for which he ever after lived in dis-

disgrace, excluded from the Councel Table, and dyed in the disgrace of the King on Earth, though in favour with the King of Kings.

Yet forsooth to make up the full measure of Bawdery, and to justifie *Neales* Discourse, that all things in the former Marriage conduced to a Nullity, a search must be made, to find whether there had been a penitration, and a Jury of grave Matrons were found fit for that purpose, who with their Spectacles, ground to lesson, not to make the letter larger; after their inspection gave verdict, she was (*intacta virgo*) which was thought very strange, for the world took notice that her way, was very near beaten so plain, as if (*regia via*) and in truth, was a common way before *Somerset* did ever travel that way; besides, the world took notice they

they two long had lived in Adultery, yet had old *Kettle* a trick for that also.

The Lady of *Essex*, for modesty sake, makes humble suit to the reverend bawdy Bishops, (who were also plotters in this stratagem) that she might not appear bare-faced, for blushing; but desired to come vailed, with a Taffity over her face; this by all means was thought so reasonable, for a pretty modest Lady, that the bawdy Bishops, and pur-blind Ladies, which had forgotten modesty themselves, could not think it worthy the denial; one Mistris *Fines*, near Kinf-woman to old *Kettle*, was dressed up in the Countesses Cloathes, at that time too young to be other then (*virgo intacta*) though within two years after, had the old Ladies made their inspection, the orifice would not have

have appeared so small, to have delivered such a verdict as they did, & a just one upon their view; tho upon some of their knowledges it was not that Lady they were to give verdict upon; if any make doubt of the truth of this Story, the Author delivers upon the reputation of a Gentleman, he had it *verbatim* from a Knight, ( otherwise of much Honor, though the very dependency on that Family may question it ) wch did usher the Lady into the place of inspection, and hath told it often to his friends in mirth. S. W. B.

Now is the Nullity pronounced, and the Marriage with *Somerset* with speed solemnized, for which, they, and the whole Family of *Suffolk* paid dear in after time, and had sower sauce to that sweat meat of their great Son in-Law.

And surely he was the most un-

unfortunate man in that Marriage, being as generally beloved for himself, and disposition, as hated afterwards for his linking himself in that Family, for in all the time of this mans favor, before this Marriage, he did nothing obnoxious to the State, or any base thing for his private gain, but whether this was his own nature that curbed him, or that there was then a brave Prince living, and a noble Queen that did awe him, we cannot so easily judge, because after this Marriage, and their death, he did many ill things.

In this Favourites flourishing time, came over the *Palsgrave* to marry our Ks. Daughter, which for the present, gave much content, and with the general applause, yet it proved a most infortunate Match to him and his Posterity, and all Christendom,

for

for all his Alliance with so many great Princes, which put on him aspiring thoughts, & was so ambitious as not to content himself, with his hereditary patrimony of one of the greatest Princes in *Germany*; but must aspire to a Kingdom, believing that his great alliance would carry him through any enterprise, or bring him off with honor, in both which he failed; being cast out of his own Country with shame, and he and his, ever after, living upon the devotion of other Princes; but had his Father in Law spent half the mony in Swords he did in words, for which he was but scorned, it had kept him in his own inheritance, and saved much Christian blood since shed; but whiles he, being wholly addicted to peace, spent much treasure, in sending stately Embassadors to treat his Enemies,

(which he esteemed friends) sent Armies with a less charge to conquer, so that it may be concluded, that this then thought the most happy Match in Christendom, was the greatest unhappiness to Christendom, themselves, and posterity.

And as if to fore-tel the sad event, presently after the Gallantry, and triumphing of that Marriage, the Kingdom was clad all in mourning, for the sad obsequies of that most hopeful Prince *Henry*, who dyed not without vehement suspicion of Poyson, and I wish I could say suspicion only; but our future discourse will tell you otherwise: He was only shewed to this Nation, as the Land of *Canaan* was to *Moses*, to look on, not to enjoy; we did indeed joy in that happiness we expected in him, but God found us so unthankful, and took so lightly

the

the death of that ever famous Queen *Elizabeth*, as he did intend to make us an example of scorn now, that were formerly of all glory.

His death was fore-told by one *Bruce* a most famous Astrologer of the *Scottish* Nation, for which the E. of *Salisbury*, a great Statesman, caused him to be banished, who left this farewel with the E. that it should be too too true, yet his Lordship should not live to see it, the E. dying in *May*, the Prince in *November* following, to the infinite grief of all the Kingdom; but the E. of *Somerset* and Family of *Howards*, who by his death thought themselves secured from all future dangers, being a Prince of an open heart, hating all baseness, would often say, if ever he were K. he would not leave one of that Family to piss against a wall.

Pr. *Henry* and *Salisbury's* death.

This brave Prince being dead, *Somerset* and that Faction bear all down before them, disposing of all Offices (yet *Somerset* never turned any out, as the succeding favourite) but places being void, he disposed of them, and who would give most, was the word, yet not by *Somerset* himself, but by his Lady and her Family, for he was naturally of a noble disposition, and it may be justly said of him, that never could be said of any before, or ever will be of any after him: He never got suit for himself or friends that was burthensome to the *Common-wealth*, no Monopolies, no Impositions; yet in his time, and by his favor, though not for his use, were brought into the Court two mean fellowes grand Projectors, the one *Ingram*, an ordinary Waiter of the Customs, the other *Cranfield* an Apprentice, who had served

*Ingram* & *Cranfield* Projectors.

ved three broken Citizens, & its probable by his wit and honesty he might thrive by them all, and lay that for a foundation of his future projecting, the one a brother of *Northamptons*, the other of the house of *Suffolk*, and thus like ill birds defiled their own nests, and discovered the secrets of the Custom-house, yet their projects seemed for the Kings profit only, though much water run by his Mill, and *Suffolk* did very well lick his own fingers, for *Salisbury* being dead, *Suffolk* was Treasurer, the proper place for Customs, and his son in-Law Chamberlain and Favorite, and then what could not they two do.

Yet *Somerset* ever kept them but like Projectors, which after Favorites, raised to the degrees of Nobility, only *Suffolk* by *Somersets* power made *Ingram* Cofferer of the Kings house, which was the

firſt apparent ſtep to *Somerſets* downfal for however the King made fair ſemblance to maintain that Act, yet made the E. of *Kelly* his inſtrument to ſet the Officers of his houſhold to petition againſt it, & ever from the Ks. own directions to take their inſtructions, in which one of the principal given, was, not to ſeek to *Somerſet* upon any terms, nay to deny to accept his favor though offered to diſanul his own act, but to carry it with an high hand againſt *Somerſet*, by wch aſſurance was given of prevailing, here was pretty jugling; (the Court being then but an *Academy* of Juglers.) *Somerſet* did often Court the Officers to make him that *Achilles*, his weapon that could wound and heal again, but was entertained with ſcorn, yet ambition ſo dazled his eyes, he could not ſee the *Precipice* on which they

they ſtood ready for their downfal, for ſurely no Aſtrologers could have given them truer notions of their ruin than this: *Cranfield* the other Projector ſoared higher, though not in *Somerſets* time could he have his feathers imped, but *Buckingham* after did ſo impe them, that *Cranfield* endeavoured to pull out his and gave him the firſt affront, by this you may obſerve how the times altered from better to worſe, and ſo fitteſt for worthleſs men.

For now began to appear a glimering of a new Favorite, one Mr. *George Villers* a younger ſon by ſecond Venter, of an ancient Knight in *Leiceſterſhire*, as I take it, his Father of an ancient Family, his Mother of a mean, & a waiting Gentlewoman, whom the old man fell in love with and married, by whom he had three ſons, all

Mr. *George Villers* a Favourite.

all raised to the Nobility, by means of their brother Favourite; this Gentleman was come also but newly from travel, and did believe it a great fortune to marry a Daughter of Sir *Roger Astons*, & in truth was the height of his ambition, and for that only end was an hanger on upon the Court; the Gentlewoman loved him so well, as could all his friends, have made her for her great fortune, but an hundred Marks Joynture, she had married him presently, in despight of all her friends; and no question, would have had him without any Joynture at all.

But before the closing up of this Match, the King cast a glancing eye towards him, which was easily observed by such as observed their Princes humour, and then the Match was laid aside, some assuring him a greater Fortune

tune was coming to him, then one gave him his place of Cupbearer, that he might be in the Kings eye; another sent to his Mercer and Taylor to put good cloathes on him; a third to his Sempster for curious Linnen, and all as in-comes to obtain Offices upon his future Rise; then others took upon them to be his Braccoes, to undertake his quarrels upon affronts put upon him by *Somersets* Faction, so all hands helped to the piecing up this new Favourite.

Then began the King to eat abroad, who formerly used to eat in his Bed-chamber, or if by chance supped in his Bed-chamber, would come forth to see pastimes and fooleries; in which Sir *Ed. Souch*, Sir *George Goring*, and Sir *John Finit*, were the chief and Master Fools, and surely this Fooling got them more then any others

others wisdom, far above them in desert: *Souch* his part to sing bawdy songs,& tell bawdy tales; *Finit* to compose these Songs; then were a set of Fidlers brought up on purpose for this Fooling,& *Goring* was Master of the game for Fooleries; sometimes presenting *David Droman*, and *Archer Armstrong* the Kings Fool, on the back of the other fools,to tilt one at another, till they fell together by the ears; sometimes Antick Dances, but Sir *John Millisert*, who was never known before, was commended for notable fooling,and so was the best extemporary Fool of them all; with this jollity was this Favorite ushered in,this made the house of *Suffolk* fret, and *Somerset* carried himself more proudly, and his Bravado's,ever quarrelling with the others, which by his Office of L. *Chamberlain* for a while carried it,

it, but *Somersets* using of Sir *Ralph Wynhood* (whom himself brought in for a Secretary of State) in so scornful a manner (he having only the title, the E. himself keeping the Seals, and doing the business) made *Wynhood* endeavor to ruine him, who soon got an opportunity by frequenting the Countess of *Shrewsbury*, then prisoner in the Tower, who told *Wynhood* on a time, that *Overbury*, was poysoned, which she understood from Sir *Gervase Elwaies*; who did labor by her means to deal with her two sons in-law, *Arundel* and *Pembr.* (*Wynhood* also being great with that faction) that when it came into question, he might save his own stake, who truly was no otherwise guilty, but that he did not discover it at *westons* first disclosing it, the being Keeper of the Prison) so by inference his not disclosing it, was *Overbu-*

*ries*

ries death; and had he revealed it then, I dare say he had been brought into the *Star-chamber* for it, and undone (for yet was not the time fit for discovery.) *Wynhood*, it was thought, acquainted the King with it, knowing how willingly he would have been rid of *Somerset*, yet the King durst not bring it in question, nor any question ever would have been, had not *Somerset* sought to cross him in his passion of love to his new Favorite, in which the King was more impatient, then any woman to enjoy her love.

Not long after *Thrumbal* Agent at *Bruxels*, had by an Apothecaries boy one *Reeve*, after an Apothecary himself in *London*, and dyed very lately, gotten hold of this poysoning business, for *Reeve* having under his Master, made some of those desperate Medicines, either run away, or else his

his Master sent him out of the way and fell in company of *Thrumbals* servants at *Bruxels*, to whom he revealed it, they to their Master, who examining the boy discovered the truth; *Thrumbal* presently wrote to Secretary *Wynhood* he had business of consequence to discover, but would not send it, therefore desired licence to come over. The King would not yield to his return, but willed him to send an Expres; That *Thrumbal* utterly refused, and very wisely, for letting any thing appear under his hand, least the boy should dye, or run away, and then himself made the Author of that, which the courtesie of another must have justified.

The King being of a longing disposition, rather then he would not know, admitted *Thrumbals* return, & now had they good testimony by the Apothecary, who reveal-

revealed *Weſton*, Mrs. *Turner* and *Franklyn*, to be principal Agents, yet this (being now the time of progreſs) was not ſtirred till about *Michaelmas*; yet *Wynhood* did now carry himſelf in a braving way of conteſtation againſt *Somerſet*, ſtruck in with the Faction of *Villers*, & now on progreſs. The King went Weſtward where he was feaſted at *Cranborn*, by a ſon in-law of that Family; at *Ludworth* and *Binden*, by the Lord *Walden*; at *Charlton* by Sir *Thomas Howard*; and nothing but one Faction braving the other; then was the K. feaſted at *Purbeck* by the L. *Hatton*, who was of the contrary Faction, and at a Joynture houſe of Sir *George Villers* Mother, called *Gotly*, where he was magnificently entertained.

After all this feaſting, homeward came the King, who deſired by all means to reconcile this

clashing between his declining and rising Favorite; to which end, at *Lulworth* the King imployed Sir *Humfrey May*, a great servant to *Sommerset*, and a wise servant to *Villers*; but with such instructions, as if it came from himself, and *Villers* had order presently after Sir *Humfrey May's* return, to present himself and service to *Somerset*. My Lord, Sir *George Villers* will come to you to offer his service, and desire to be your creature; and therefore refuse him not, embrace him, and your Lordship shall still stand a great man, though not the sole Favorite: My Lord seemed averse, Sir *Humfrey* then told him in plain terms, that he was sent by the King to advise it, and that *Villers* would come to him to cast himself into his protection, to take his rise under the shadow of his wings: Sir *Hum-*

*frey May* was not parted from my L. half an hour, but in comes Sir *George Villers*, and used these very words, *My Lord, I desire to be your servant, and your creature, and shall desire to take my Court-preferment under your favor and your Lordship, & your Lordship shall find me as faithful a servant unto you as ever did serve you.* My Lord returned this quick and short answer, *I will none of your service, and you shall none of my favor, I will, if I can, break your neck, and of that be confident.* This was but an harsh Complement, and savored more of spirit than wisdom; and since that time breaking each others necks was their aims, & it's verily believed, had *Somerset* complied with *Villers*, *Overbury's* death had still layn raked up in his own ashes; but God, who will never suffer murther to go unpunished, will have what he will, maugre

all

all the wisdom of the World.

To *Windsor* doth the King return, to end his Progress, from thence to *Hampton-Court*, then to *White-Hall*, and shortly after to *Royston*, to begin his Winter-Journy.

And now begins the Game to be plaid, in which *Somerset* must be the loser, the Cards being shuffled, cut, and dealt between the King and Sir *Edward Cook*, chief Justice, whose daughter *Purbeck*, *Villers* had married, or was to marry, and therefore a fit instrument to ruin *Somerset*, and Secretary *Wynhood*; these all plaid, the stake, *Somersets* life, & his Ladies, and their fortunes, and the Family of *Suffolk*; some of them played booty, and in truth, the Game was not plaid above-board. The day the King went from *White-Hall* to *Theobalds*, and so to *Royston*, the King sent for all the

Judges (his Lords and Servants encircling him,) where kneeling down in the midst, he used these words;

*My Lords, the Judges; it is lately come to my hearing, that you have now in examination a busines of poysoning, Lord in what a most miserable condition shall this Kingdom be, (the only famous Nation for hospitality in the world) if our Tables should become such a snare, as none could eat without danger of life, and that* Italian *custom should be introduced amongst us; therefore, my Lords, I charge you, as you will answer it at that great and dreadful day of Judgement, that you examine it strictly without favor, affection, or partiality; and if you shall spare any guilty of this crime, Gods curse light on you and your posterity: And if I spare any that are found guilty, Gods curse light on me and my posterity for ever.* But how this dread-

full

full thunder-Curse or imprecation was performed, shall be shewed hereafter; and I pray God, the effect be not felt amongst us even at this day (as it hath been, I fear on that vertuous Lady *Elizabeth*, and her children, (for God treasures up such imprecations and deprecations, and pours them out, when a Nation least dreams, even when they cry, Peace, peace, to their souls; and it may well be (at this time our other sins concurring) pouring out upon King, Judges, and the whole State.

It appears how unwilling the King was to ruine *Somerset*, a creature of his own making, *sed immedicabile vulnus, Ense rescindendum est*, Grace was offered by the King, had he had grace to have apprehended it.

The King with this, took his farewel for a time of *London*, and

was accompanied with *Somerset* to *Royston* (where no sooner he brought him) but instantly took leave, little imagining what viper lay amongst the herbs; nor must I forget to let you know how perfect the K. was in the art of dissimulation, or to give it his own phrase (*King-craft*;) The Earl of *Somerset* never parted from him with more seeming affection than at this time, when he knew *Somerset* should never see him more; & had you seen that seeming affection (as the Author himself did) you would rather have believed he was in his rising, than setting: The Earl when he kissed his hand, the K. hung about his neck, slabboring his cheeks; saying, for Gods sake, when shall I see thee again; On my soul, I shall neither eat nor sleep until you come again; the Earl told him, on Monday (this being on the

K. *James* his parting with *Somerset*.

the Friday,) for Gods sake let me said the King, shall I, shall I. Then lolled about his neck; then, for Gods sake, give my Lady this kiss for me, in the same manner at the stayres head, at the middle of the stayres, and at the stayres foot; the E. was not in his Coach, when the King used these very words (in the hearing of four servants, of whom one was *Somersets* great creature, and of the Bed-chamber, who reported it instantly to the Author of this History) *I shall never see his face more.* I appeal to the Reader, whether his Motto of, *Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare*, was not as well performed in this passage, as his *Beati pacifici*, in the whole course of his life; and his love to the latter, made him to be beaten with his own weapon in the other, by all Princes and States that had to do with him.

But before *Somersets* approach to *London*, his Countess was apprehended, at his arrival, himself; and the King being that night at supper, said to Sir *Thomas Monson*, My Lord chief Justice hath sent for you; he asked the King, when he should wait on him again; who replyed, you may come when you can: And (as in the story of *Byron*, and many others) there have been many foolish observations, as presage, so was there in this Gentleman, who was the Kings Mr. Faulconer, and in truth such a one, as no Prince in Christendom had; for what Flights other Princes had, he would excel them for his Master, in which one was at the Kite.

Sir *Thomas Monson* an excellent Faulconer.

The *French* sending over his Faulconers to shew that sport, his Master Faulconer lay long here, but could not kill one Kite, ours being more magnanimous

the

then the French Kite; Sir *Thomas Monſon* deſired to have that flight in all exquiſitenes, & to that end was at 1000 *l.* charge in Goſ-Faulcons for that flight, in all that charge, he never had but one caſt would perform it, and thoſe had killed nine Kites never miſſed one. The Earl of *Pembr.* with all the Lords, deſired the K. but to walk out of *Royſton* Towns end, to ſee that flight, which was one of the moſt ſtateſieſt Flights of the world, for the high mountee, the K. went unwillingly forth, the flight was ſhewed, but the Kite went to ſuch a mountee, as all the field loſt ſight of Kite, and Hawk and all, and neither Kite nor Hawk were either ſeen or heard of to this preſent, which made all the Court conjecture it a very ill *omen.*

So that you ſee, the plot was ſo well laid, as they ſhould be all within

within the toyle at one inſtant, not knowing of each other. Now are in hold, the Earl, his Counteſs, Sir *Thomas Monſon*, Miſtris *Turner* (a very lewd & infamous woman of life) *Weſton* & *Franklyn*, with ſome others of leſs note, of which one *Symon*, a ſervant of Sir *Thomas Monſon*, who was imployed in carrying Jelly and Tart to the Tower, who upon his examination, for his pleaſant anſwer, was inſtantly diſmiſſed. My Lord told him, *Symon* you have had a hand in this poyſoning buſineſs; No, my good Lord, I had but one finger in it, which almoſt coſt me my life, and at the beſt coſt me all my hair and nails; for the truth was, *Symon* was ſomewhat liquoriſh, and finding the ſirrup ſwim from the top of a Tart as he carryed, he did with his finger skim it off, & it was to be believed, had he known what

it

it had been, he would not have been his taster at so dear a rate; and that you may know *Symons* interest with that family, I shall tell you a true story

Sir *Thomas Monson* was a great lover of Musick, & had as good as *England* had, especially for voyces, and was at infinite charge in breeding some in *Italy*. This *Symon* was an excellent Musician, and did sing delicately, but was a more general Musician than ever the world had; He had a *Catro* of an immense length and bigness, with this, being his Tabor stick, his palm of his hand his Tabor, & his mouth his pipe, he would so imitate a Tabor Pipe, as if it had been so indeed: To this Musick, would Mrs. *Turner*, the young Ladies, and some of that Gig, dance ever after supper; the old Lady, who loved that Musick as well as her daughters, would sit and

and laugh, she could scarce sit for laughing; and it was believed, that some of them danced after that pipe without the Tabor, his Master coming to hear of it, turned him away, but was infinitely importuned to take him again, he could not have wanted a service, but he never durst use his pipe amongst them, for their dancing recreation, how ever he might for any other.

And now poor Mrs. *Turner*, *Weston*, and *Franklyn* began the Tragedy, Mrs. *Turners* day of mourning being better than the day of her birth, for she dyed very penitently, and shewed much modesty in her last act, which is to be hoped was accepted with *God*; after that dyed *Weston*; and then was *Franklyn* arraigned, who confessed that *Overbury* was smothered to death, not poysoned to death, though he had poison given him. Here

Here was *Cook* glad, how to cast about to bring both ends together, Mrs. *Turner* and *Weston* being already hanged for killing *Overbury* with poyson, but he being the very quinteſſence of Law, preſently informs the Jury, that if a man be done to death with Piſtols, Poniards, Swords, Halter, Poyſon, &c. ſo he be done to death, the Indictment is good, if but indicted for any of thoſe ways; but the good Lawyers of thoſe times were not of that opinion, but did believe, that Mrs, *Turner* was directly murthered by my Lord *Cooks* Law, as *Overbury* was without any Law.

In the next place, comes the Counteſs to her tryal, at whoſe Arraignment, as alſo at Mrs. *Turners* before, were ſhewed many Pictures, Puppits, with ſome exorciſm and Magick ſpells, which made them appear more odious,

as

as being known to converſe with Witches and Wizzards; and amongſt the tricks, *Formans* book was ſhewed, this *Forman* was a fellow dwelt in *Lambeth*, a very ſilly fellow, yet had wit enough to cheat Ladies,& other women, by pretending skill in telling their Fortunes, as whether they ſhould bury their husbands, and what 2d. husband they ſhould have, & whether they ſhould enjoy their Loves,or whether Maids ſhould get husbands, or enjoy their ſervants to themſelves without Corrivals; but before he would tell any thing, they muſt write their names to his Alphabetical book, with their own hand-writing; by this trick he kept them in awe, if they ſhould complain of his abuſing them, as in truth he did nothing elſe: Beſides,it was believed, ſome meetings was at his houſe, & that the art

rt of Bawd was more beneficial to him, then that of a Conjurer; and that he was a better Artist in the one, than the other; and that you may know his skill, he was himself a Cuckold, having a very pretty wench to his Wife, which would say, she did it to try his skill, but it fared with him as with Astrologers, that cannot foresee their destiny. I well remember, there was much mirth made in the Court, upon the shewing this book, for it was reported, the first leafe my Lord *Cook* lighted on, he found his own wives name.

The next that came on the stage, was Sir *Tho. Monson*; but the night before he was to come to his tryal, the King being at the game of Maw, said, To morrow comes *Tho. Monson* to his tryal; yea, said the Kings *Card-holder, where if he do not play his Masters prize, your Majesty shall never

*S.H.M.

ver truſt me; this ſo run in the Kings mind, as the next game, he ſaid he was ſleepy, and would play out that ſet next night; the Gentleman departed to his lodging, but was no ſooner gone, but the King ſent for him, what communication they had, I know not, (yet it may be, can more eaſily gueſs then any other,) but it is moſt certain, next under God, that Gentleman ſaved his life, for the King ſent a Poſt preſently to *London*, to let the Lord chief Juſtice know, he would ſee *Monſons* examination & confeſſion, to ſee if it were worthy to touch his life, for ſo ſmall a matter; *Monſon* was too wiſe to ſet any thing but fair in his confeſſion, what he would have ſtab'd with, ſhould have been (*viva voce*) at his Arraignment. The King ſent word, he ſee nothing worthy of death, or of bonds, in his Accuſation or Examina-

mination: *Cook* was so mad, he could not have his will of *Monson*, that he said, Take him away, we have other matters against him of an higher nature; with which words, out issues about a dozen Warders of the Tower, & took him from the Bar; and *Cooks* malice was such against him, as though it rained extreamly & *Monson* not well, he made him goe a foot from the *Guild-Hall* to the Tower, which almost cost him his life; there lay he a close prisoner above three months, the end to get a Recorders place (that *Cranfield* desired) every man thinking him in some treason, would not lend him Mony, and if so much mony had not been paid by such a time, his place had been forfeited. And in this let me commend the part of a true friend in Sir *Hum. May*, who at 24.

hours, made his brother *Herick* take up 2000.l. and pay it, to save his Office, without so much as any security from Sir *Tho. Monson* (for he was close prisoner,) or from any friend of his; and that you may know it was for his Office, this hard measure was shewed him, the Money was no sooner paid, but his friends might come unto him; and I must not let pass the skill of the Lord *Loreskeine*, a Scotchman, who long before, by his physiognomy, told Sir *George Marshall*, that Sir *Thomas Monson* would escape hanging neerer then ever any man did; which was true, for he was twice brought to his tryal, put himself both times upon his Country, yet was only indicted, never tried, & yet had he harder measure then ever any man had, for he lost his Office, being but indicted, and

not

not condemned, which is without any preſident.

And now for the laſt act, enters *Sommerſet* himſelf on the Stage, who (being told, as the manner is, by the Lieutenant, that he muſt provide to go next day to his tryal) did abſolutely refuſe it, and ſaid, they ſhould carry him in his bed; that the King had aſſured him, he ſhould not come to any tryal, neither durſt the King to bring him to tryal; this was in an high ſtrain, and in a language not well underſtood by *George Moore* (Lieutenant in *Elwaies* his room) that made *Moore* quiver and ſhake, and however he was accounted a wiſe man, yet was he neer at his wits end.

Yet away goes *Moore* to *Greenwich*, as late as it was (being 12. at night) bounſeth at the back-ſtayres as if mad, to whom came

Jo. *Loveſton*, one of the Grooms out of his bed, enquires the reaſon of that diſtemper at ſo late a ſeaſon; *Moore* tells him he muſt ſpeak with the King; *Loveſton* replyes, he is quiet (which in the Scottiſh dialect, is faſt aſleep) *Moor* ſays you muſt awake him; *Moore* was called in, (the Chamber left to the King & *Moore*) he tells the King thoſe paſſages, and deſired to be directed by the King, for he was gone beyond his own reaſon, to hear ſuch bold & undutiful expreſſions, from a faulty Subject, againſt a juſt Soveraign: The K. falls into a paſſion of tears, On my ſoul, *Moore*, I wot not what to do, thou art a wiſe man, help me in this great ſtraight, & thou ſhalt find thou doſt it for a thankfull Maſter, with other ſad expreſſions; *Moore* leaves the King in that paſſion, but aſſures him

he

he will prove the utmoſt of his wit, to ſerve his Majeſty, and was really rewarded with a ſuit worth to him 1500. l. (although *Annundale* his great friend, did cheat him of one half) ſo was there falſhood in friendſhip.

Sir *George Moore* returns to *Somerſet* about three next morning, of that day he was to come to trial, enters *Somerſets* chamber, tells him he had been with the K. found him a moſt affectionate Maſter unto him, & full of grace in his intentions towards him, but (ſaid he) to ſatisfie Juſtice, you muſt appear, although return inſtantly again, without any further proceeding, only you ſhall know your enemies and their malice, though they ſhall have no power over you: With this trick of wit, he allayed his fury, and got him quietly, about eight in the

*Somerſets Trial.*

morning to the Hall, yet feared his former bold language might revert again, and being brought by this trick into the toile, might have more inraged him to fly out into ſome ſtrange diſcovery, that he had two ſervants placed on each ſide of him, with a Cloake on their arms, giving them a peremptory order, if that *Somerſet* did any way fly out on the King, they ſhould inſtantly hoodwink him with that Cloak, take him violently from the Bar, and carry him away; for which, he would ſecure them from any danger, & they ſhould not want alſo a bountiful reward. But the Earl finding himſelf over-reached, recollected a better temper, and went on calmly in his Tryal, where he held the company till 7 at night. But who had ſeen the Kings reſtleſs motion all that day, ſending

to every Boat he see landing at the Bridge, curſing all that came without tydings, would have eaſily judged all was not right, and there had been ſome grounds for *Somerſets* boldneſs; but at laſt bringing him word he was condemned, and the paſſages, All was quiet. This is the very relation from *Moores* own mouth, and this told to two Gentlemen (of which the Author was one) that had no aſſurance of their honeſty, but though he failed in his wiſdom, or rather doted at this inſtant, yet they failed not in that worth inherent in every Noble ſpirit, never ſpeaking of it till the Kings death, both the Gentlemen being now alive, and had this *verbatim* from *Moore* in *Wanſtead* Park.

And there were other ſtrong inducements, to believe *Somerſet*

knew that by him, he desir'd none other in the world should be partaker of, & that all was not peace within in the Peace-maker himself; for he ever courted *Somerset* to his dying day, and gave him 4000. l. *per annum* for *Fearne resits*, after he was condemned, w^ch he took in his servants names, not his own (as then being condemned, not capable of) and he then resolved never to have pardon. I have heard it credibly reported, he was told by a Wizzard, that could he but come to see the Ks. face again, he should be re-invested in his former dearness; this had been no hard experiment, but belike he had too much Religion, to trust to Wizzards, or else some friends of his had trusted them, and been deceived by them, that he had little reason to put confidence in them.

Many

Many believe him guilty of *Overburies* death, but the moſt thought him guilty only of the breach of friendſhip (and that in a high point) by ſuffering his impriſonment, which was the high-way to his murther; & this conjecture I take to be of the ſoundeſt opinion; for by keeping him out of the action (if it were diſcovered) his greatneſs fortified with innocency, would carry their nocencies through all dangers; for the Gentleman himſelf, he had misfortune, to marry ſuch a woman, in ſuch a Family, which firſt undermined his Honor, afterwards his life (at leaſt to be dead in Law;) nor did any thing reflect upon him in all his time of Favorite, but in, and by that Family; firſt in his adulterous marriage, then in ſo hated a Family, and the bringing in *Cranfield* and

*Ingram*

*Ingram*, as Projectors, all by his wives and friends means, otherwiſe, had he been the braveſt Favorite of our time, full of Majeſty, imploying his time like a Stateſ-man, and the King kept correſpondency with him by Lettets, almoſt weekly, to his dying day.

And here have we brought this great man to his end, with his Counteſs, Mrs. *Turner*, *Weſton*, *Franklyn* and *Elwaies* dyed in the Tower, and here dyed this great buſineſs, *weſton* ever ſaying, it never troubled him, to dye with ſo many blew Ribbonds: And its verily believed, when the K. made thoſe terrible Imprecations on himſelf, Deprecations of the Judges, it was intended the Law ſhould run in its proper channel, but was ſtopt and put out of courſe by the folly of that great Clerk,

Clerk, Sir *Edward Cook*, though no wiſe man, who in a vain glorious ſpeech, to ſhew his vigilancy, enters into a rapture as he ſate on the Bench, ſaying, *God knows what became of that ſweet Babe Prince* H. (*but I know ſomewhat*;) & ſurely in ſearching the Cabinets, he lighted on ſome Papers, that ſpake plain in that which was ever whiſpered, which, had he gone on in a gentle way, would have falne in of themſelves, not to have been prevented, but this folly of his tongue, ſtopt the breath of that diſcovery, of that ſo foul a murder, which, I fear, cryes ſtill for vengeance.

And now begins the new Favorite to reign, without any controlement; now he riſes in honor, as well as ſwells with pride, being broken out of the modeſt bounds, formerly had Impayled

payled him, to the high-way of pride and ſcorn, turning out, and putting in all he pleaſed: Firſt, he muſt aſpire to the Admirals Office himſelf, and would not let the old Gentleman (ſo well deſerving in that place) dye with that Title, but the King muſt put himſelf to a great charge, to put out the better, and take in the worſe; yet for all his immenſe greatneſs, would never let him be Admiral, untill he had firſt ſetled Sir *Robert Manſel* Vice-Admiral of *England*, during his life, by Patent, in wch, he not only manifeſted his love to his Noble friend, though ſometime his ſervant, but his care to the State, that his experience & abilities might ſupport the others inabilities; well-knowing that the Honor and Safety of the Kingdom, conſiſted in the well-ordering & ſtrength of the *Navy*.

Next

Next *Egerton* had displeased him, not giving way to his exorbitant desires, he must out, and would not let him seal up his dying eyes, which he had so long carryed, and so well discharged; and to despight him the more, and to vex his very soul, in the last Agony, he sent *Bacon*, his desired Successor (one he hated) for the Seals, which the old mans spirit could not brook, but sent them by his own servant to the King, and shortly after yielded his soul to his Maker.

And to the end you may know what men were made choyce of, to serve turns, I shall set you down a true story: This great Favorite sent a Noble Gentleman, & of much worth, to *Bacon*, with this Message, that he knew him to be a man of excellent parts, and as the times were, fit to serve

*Buckinghams* Message to *Bacon*.

ſerve his Maſter in the Keepers place, but he alſo knew him of a baſe and ingrateful diſpoſition, and an arrant knave, apt in his proſperity, to ruin any that had raiſed him from adverſity; yet for all this, he did ſo much ſtudy his Maſters ſervice (knowing how fit an inſtrument he might be for him) that he had obtained the Seals for him; but with this aſſurance, ſhould he ever requite him, as he had done ſome others, to whom he had been more bound, he would caſt him down as much below ſcorn, as he had now raiſed him high above any Honor he could ever have expected.

*Bacon's Anſwer.*

*Bacon*, being then Atturney, patiently hearing this Meſſage, replyed, I am glad my Noble Lord deals ſo friendly and freely with me, and hath made that choyſe of ſo diſcreet and Noble a friend,

friend, to convey it unto me, and that had delivered the Meſſage in ſo plain language; but, ſaith he, can my Lord know theſe abilities in me, & can he think when I have attained the higheſt preferment my profeſſion is capable of, I ſhall ſo much fail in my judgement, and underſtanding, as to loſe theſe abilities? and by my miſcarriage to ſo noble a Patron, caſt my ſelf headlong from the top of that honor to the very bottom of contempt and ſcorn? Surely, my Lord cannot think ſo meanly of me. The Gentleman replyed, I deliver you nothing from my ſelf, but the words are put into my mouth by his Lordſhip, to which I neither add nor diminiſh; for had it been left to my diſcretion, ſurely, though I might have given you the ſubſtance, yet ſhould I have apparelled it

it in a more modeſt attire; but as I have faithfully delivered my Lords to you, ſo will I as faithfully return yours to his Lordſhip.

You muſt underſtand the reaſon of this Meſſage, was his ungratefulneſs to *Eſſex*, which every one could remember, for the Earl ſaved him from ſtarving, and he requited him ſo, as his Apology muſt witneſs; were there not a great fault, there needed no Apology; nor could any age, but a worthleſs, and corrupt in men and manners, have thought him worthy ſuch a place of honor.

Well, Lord Keeper he was, for which he paid nothing, nor was he able; for now was there a new trick to put in diſhoneſt and neceſſitous men, to ſerve ſuch turnes, as men of plentiful fortunes, and fair reputations, would not

not accept of; and this filled the Church & Common-wealth full of beggerly fellows (such daring to venture on any thing) having nothing to lose; (for it is riches makes men cowards; Poverty, daring & valiant, to adventure at any thing to get something) yet did not *Buckingham* do things *gratis*, but what their purses could not stretch unto, they paid in pensions out of their places, all which went to maintain his numerous beggerly kindred; *Bacon* payed a pension; *Heath* Atturny paid a pension, *Bargrave* Dean, paid a Pension, with many others: Nor was this any certain rule, for present portions must be raised; of a poor Kitchin-Maid, to be made a great Countess; for *Fotherby* made Bishop of *Sarum*, paid 3500.l. and some also, worthy men, were preferred *gratis*, to blow up their

*Buckingham's* court to raise his kindred.

Fames, and Trumpet forth their Nobleneſs (as *Tolſon*, a worthy man, paid nothing in Fine or penſion; after him, *Davenat*, in the ſame Biſhopriek;) but theſe were but as Muſick before ev'ry hound; nor were fines or penſions certain, but where men were rich, there Fines without reſervation of rent; where poor, & ſuch as would ſerve turns, their penſions, no Fines; ſo *Weſton*, and many others: There were books of rates on all Offices, Biſhopricks, Deanries in *England*, that could tell you what Fines, what Penſions, otherwiſe had it been impoſſible ſuch a numerous kindred could have been maintained with three Kingdoms Revenue.

Now was *Bacon* inveſted in his Office, and within ten days after the King goes to *Scotland*; *Bacon* inſtantly begins to believe himſelf King, lyes in the Kings Lodgings, gives

gives audience in the great Banqueting house, makes all other Councellors attend his motions, with the same state the King used to come out, to give audience to Embassadors; when any other Councellor sate with him about the Kings affairs, would (if they sate near him) bid them know their distance; upon which, *Wynhood*, Secretary, rose, went away, and would never sit more, but instantly dispatcht one to the King, to desire him to make hast back, for his Seat was already usurped: At which, I remember, the King reading it unto us, both the King and we were very merry; and if *Buckingham* had sent him any Letter, would not vouchsafe the opening or reading in publick, tho it was said, it required speedy dispatch, nor would vouchsafe him any answer. In this posture he lived, until he heard the

*Bacons pride.*

King was returning, and began to believe the Play was almoſt at an end, he might perſonate a Kings part no longer, and therefore did again re-inveſt with his old rags of baſeneſs, which were ſo tattered and poor at the Kings coming to *Windſor*; he attended two days at *Buckinghams* Chamber, being not admitted to any better place, then the room where trencher-ſcrapers and Laquies attended, there ſitting upon an old wooden cheſt, (amongſt ſuch as for his baſeneſs, were only fit for his companions, although the Honor of his plaec did merit far more reſpect) with his Purſe and Seal lying by him on that cheſt; My ſelf told a ſervant of my Lord of *Buckinghams*, it was a ſhame to ſee the Purſe and Seal of ſo little value, or eſteem in his Chamber, though the Carryer without it, merited nothing

He is ſcorned.

nothing but ſcorn, being worſt among the baſeſt. He told me they had command it muſt be ſo; after two days he had admittance; at firſt entrance, fell down flat on his face at the Dukes foot, kiſſing it; vowing never to riſe till he had his pardon, then was he again reconciled, and ſince that time ſo very a ſlave to the Duke, and all that Family, that he durſt not deny the command of the meaneſt of the kindred, nor oppoſe any thing; by this you ſee, a baſe ſpirit is ever moſt concomitant with the proudeſt mind, and ſurely never ſo many parts, and ſo baſe & abject a ſpirit, tenated together in any one earthen Cottage, as in this one man: I ſhall not remember his baſeneſs, being out of his place, of pinning himſelf, for very ſcraps, on that Noble Gentleman, Sir *Julius Cæſars* Hoſpitality, that at laſt

he was forced to get the Kings Warrant to remove him out of his houſe; yet in his proſperity, the one being Chancellor, & the other Maſter of the Rolls, did ſo ſcorn and abuſe him, as he would alter any thing the other did.

And now *Buckingham* having the Chancellor, Treaſurer, and all great Officers his very ſlaves, ſwells in the height of pride, ſummons up all the Country kindred, the old Counteſs providing a place for them to learn to carry themſelves in a Court-like-garb, but becauſe they could not learn the French Dances ſo ſoon as to be in gay clothes, Country Dances muſt be the garb of the Court & none elſe muſt be uſed.

Then muſt theſe women kindred be married to Earls, Earls eldeſt ſons, Barons, or chief Gentlemen of greateſt eſtates, inſomuch that the very female kindred

dred were so numerous, as sufficient to have peopled any Plantation; nay, very Kitchin-wenches were married to Knights eldest sons; yet, as if *England* had not matches enough in the Kingdom, they married like the house of *Austria*, in their own kindred, witness the E. of *Anglice*, married a cousen-Jerman, to whom he had given earnest before; so that King *James*, that naturally, in former times, hated women, had his Lodgings replenished with them, and all of the kindred. The Brethren, great Earls. Little children did run up and down the Kings Lodgings, like little Rabbit-starters about their boroughs: Here was a strange change, that the King, who formerly would not endure his Queen and Children in his Lodgings, now you would have judged, that none but women frequented them; nay,

that was not all, but the kindred had all the houſes about *White-Hall* (as if Bulwarks and Flankers about that Cittadale.) But above all, the miracles of thoſe times, old Sir *Anthony Aſhley*, who never loved any but boys, yet he was ſnatcht up for a kinſwoman, as if there had been a concurrency through the Kingdom, that thoſe that naturally hated women, yet loved his kindred, as well as the King him.

And the very old Midwives of that kindred, flockt up for preferment, of which, old Sir *Chriſtopher Perkins*, a woman-hater, that never meant to marry, nay it was ſaid, he had made a vow of Virginity, yet was coupled to an old Midwife; ſo that you ſee the greatneſs of this Favorite, who could force (by his power over the King) though againſt Nature.

But

But I must tell you, this got him much hatred, to raise brothers, and brothers in-law to the highest rank of Nobility, which were not capable of the place, scarce of a Justice of the peace, only *Purbeck* had more wit and honesty than all the kindred beside, and did keep him in some bounds of honesty and modesty, whilst he lived about him, and would speak plain English to him; for which plainness, when they had no colour to put him from his brother, they practised to make him mad, and thought to bring that wicked stratagem to effect, by countenancing a wicked woman, his wife, the Lord *Cooks* daughter against him, even in her base and lewd living.

And now is *Purbeck* mad, and put from Court, now none great with *Buckingham*, but Bawds and Parasites, and such as humored him

him in his unchaſt pleaſures; ſo that ſince his firſt being a pretty, harmleſs, affable Gentleman, he grew inſolent, cruel, and a monſter not to be endured.

And now is *Williams*, ſometimes Chaplain to L. Keeper *Egerton*, brought into play, made a Privy-Councellor, Dean of *Weſtminiſter*, and of ſecret Councel with the King, he was alſo made Biſhop of *Lincolne*, and was generally voyced at his firſt ſtep, to marry *Buckinghams* mother, who was in her husbands time, created a Counteſs he (remaining ſtill (a C.ſilly drunken ſot) and this was the firſt preſident of this kind ever known. *Williams* held her long in hand, & no doubt, in nature of her Confeſſor, was her ſecret friend, yet would not marry, which afterwards was cauſe of his downfal at the preſent.

Then was there a Parliament ſum-

ſummoned, in which, *Bacon* for his bribery and injuſtice, was thruſt out, being cloſely proſecuted by one *Morby* a Woodmonger, and one *Wrenham*, formerly deeply cenſured, *Bacon* was by Parliament juſtly put out of his place, and but only for the Votes of the Biſhop, had been degraded; the Biſhops might have done better to have kept their voyces to have done themſelves ſervice at this time, but ſurely that, with ſome other injuſtice of theirs, had ſo filled up their meaſure of iniquity, that now Gods anger is kindled againſt them.

In *Bacons* place comes *Williams*, a man on purpoſe brought in at firſt to ſerve turns, but in this place to do that which none of the Laity could be found bad enough to undertake, whereupon this obſervation was made, that firſt no Lay-man could be found

ſo

ſo diſhoneſt as a Clergy-man; next, as *Bacon* the father of this *Bacon*, did receive the Seals from a Biſhop, ſo a Biſhop again received them from a *Bacon*; and at this did the Lawyers fret, to have ſuch a flower pulled out of their Garland.

This *Williams*, though he wanted much of his Predeceſſors abilities for the Law, yet did he equal him for learning and pride, and beyond him in the way of bribery, this man anſwering by petitions, a new way, in which his ſervants had one part, himſelf another, and ſo was calculated to be worth to him and his ſervants 3000.l. *per annum*, a new way never found out before.

And now being come to the height of his preferment, he did eſtrange himſelf from the company of the old Counteſs, having much younger ware, who had keys

keys to his chamber, to come to him, yet was their a neceſſity of keeping him in this place for a time, the *Spanſh* Match being yet in chaſe, and if it ſucceeded, this man was to clap the Great Seal (through his ignorance in the Laws) to ſuch things that none that underſtood the danger by knowing the Laws, would venture upon, and for this deſign was he at firſt brought in, (no Prince living knowing how to make uſe of men, better than King *James*.)

Now was alſo *Suffolk* turned out of his place of L. Treaſurer, & a fellow of the ſame hatch that *Williams* was brought into his place, *Cranfield* that was the Projector, and never could get higher than that title in *Somerſets* time, now marrying one of *Buckinghams* kindred, ſo that it was now generally ſaid, that for pride and baſeneſe theſe two great places were never

never ſo fitted, both of mean birth, both proud, only the one an excellent Scholler, and of great parts; the other, nothing but a pack of ignorance ſawthered together with imprudence to raiſe him (beſides his marriage in the luſty kindred.)

This *Cranfield* was a fellow of ſo mean a condition, as none but a poor ſpirited Nobility would have endured his perching on that high Tree of Honor, to the diſhonor of the Nobility, the diſgrace of the Gentry, and not long after to his own diſhonor, who was thruſt out of the Lords Houſe with this cenſure, that *Thou Lionel, Earl of Middleſex, ſhalt never ſit, or have voyce more in this Houſe of Peers, and ſhalt pay for a fine to our Soveraign Lord the King* 20000.l. *leaving him ſtill to overtop the Gentry, the Biſhops kept him alſo from degrading, which I do verily*

*rily believe is one cauſe the Gentry will degrade them.*

The *Spaniſh* Match, having been long in Treaty, and it being ſuſpected now, that the *Spaniard* did juggle with this State in this, as they formerly did in a Match with that brave Prince *Henry*, and in truth, in all other things wherein any negotiation had been, only feeding the K. with fair hopes, & fair words, yet foul deeds. Whether the King ſuſpected any ſuch matter, or any whimſey came in the brain of this great Favorite and Prince, to imitate the old ſtories of the Knights Errand, but agreed it was (it ſhould ſeem) between the Favorite & the Prince only (no one other ſo much as dreaming of any ſuch adventure) except *Cottington*, who alſo accompanied them, that the Prince muſt go himſelf into *Spain*: away they went under the borrow-

The Prince goes into Spaine.

ed

ed names of *Jack* & *Tom Smith* to the amazement of all wise men, only accompanied with *Cottington*, and some one or two more at most, taking their way by *France*; had the Ports laid so, that none should follow them, or give any notice to the *French* Court, till they might get the start, &c. yet their wildoms made them adventure to stay in the *French* Court, & look on that Lady whom he after married; and there did this *Mars* imitate one of Prince *Arthurs* Knights, in seeking Adventures through forreign Princes territories; 1st beheld this *French* beauty *Mars vidit visamq; cupit potiturq; cupita*: as in our discourse will afterward appear; from thence away to *Spain*; but as the Journy was only plotted by young heads, so it was so childishly carried, that they escaped the *French* Kings Curriers very narrowly, but

but escape they did, and arrived safely in *Spain* their wished Port, before either welcome, or expected, by our Embassadors, or that State.

Yet now must the best face be put on, at all hands, that put their Grandees to new shifts, and our Embassador the Earl of *Bristol* to try his wit, for at that time was Sir *Walter Aston* also Embassador at *Spain*, in all occurrences *Aston* complyed with the Prince and Duke, *Bristol* ran counter; and the Duke and *Bristol* hated each other mortally.

*Bristol* had the advantage of them there, as having the much better head-peece, & being more conversant and dear with that State, wholly complying with them, and surely had done them very acceptable services (& in this very Treaty was one of the pack) *Buckingham* had the advantage of

him in *Engl.* (although the K. did now hate *Buckingh.* yet was so awed that he durst not discover it) Then *Buck.* had all interest in his successor by this journy, so that he laid a present & future foundation of his succeeding greatness.

For all his power & greatness, *Bristoll* did not forbear to put all scorns, affronts, & tricks on him, & *Buck.* lay so open, as gave the other advantage enough by his lascivious carriage & miscarriage. Amongst all his tricks, he plays one so cunningly, that it cost him all the hair on his head, & put him to the dyet; for it should seem he made court to *Conde Olivons* L. a very handsom Lady; But it was so plotted betwixt the Lady, her Husband, and *Bristol*, that instead of that beauty, he had a notorious Stew sent him, and surely his carriage there was so lascivious, that had ever the match been really

ally intended for our Prince, yet such a Companion, or Guardian, was enough to have made them believe he had been that way addicted, and so have fruſtrated the marriage, that being a grave and ſober Nation, *Buckingham* of a light and looſe behavior; and had the Prince himſelf been of an extraordinary well ſtaid temper, the other had been a very ill Guardian unto him.

But now many Lords flockt over, and many Servants, that he might appear the Prince of *England*, and like himſelf, though he came thither like a private perſon, many Treaties were, ſometimes hope, ſometimes diſpair, ſometimes great aſſurance, then all daſht again, and how ever, his entertainment was as great as poſſible that State could afford; yet was his addreſſes to, and with the Lady ſuch, as ren-

dred him mean, & a private person, rather than a Prince of that State, that formerly had made *Spain* feel the weight of their anger, and power; and was like a Servant, not a Suiter, for he never was admitted, but to ſtand bare head in her preſence, nor to talk with her, but in a full audience with much company.

At laſt, after many heats and cools, many hopes and diſpairs, the Prince wrote a letter to his Father of a deſperate diſpair, not only of not injoying his Lady, but of never more returning) with this paſſage, *You muſt now Sir look upon my Siſter and her children, forgetting ever you had ſuch a Son, and never thinking more of me.*

Now the folly of this voyage, plotted only by green heads, began to appear, many ſhewing much ſorrow, many ſmiling at their follies (and in truth glad in

their

their Hearts) and however the King was a cunning dissembler, and shewed much outward sorrow, as he did for Prince *Henries* death, yet something was discerned, which made his Court believe little grief came near his heart, for that hatred he bare to *Buckingham* long (as being satiated with him) and his adoring the rising sun, not looking after the sun setting, made the world believe he would think it no ill bargain to loose his son, so *Buckingham* might be lost also, for had he not been weary of *Buckingham*, he would never have adventured him in such a journey, all his Courtiers knew that very well.

And for a further illustration of his weariness of *Buckingham*, it appeared in the Parliament before, when the K. gave so much way to his ruine, that *Buckingham*

*ham* challenged him that he did seek his ruine, and being generally held a loſt man, the King to make it appear it was not ſo, and that the King durſt not avow his own act, brought him off from that Parliament, but *Buckingham* hated the King ever afterwards.

The reaſon the King ſo hated *Buckingham* was, ( beſides his being weary of him and his marriage, after which the Kings edge was ever taken off from all Favorites; yet this had ſo much the over-awing power of him, that he durſt not make ſhew to affect any other; there was one *Junioſſa* a Spaniſh Embaſſador extraordinary here, being an old Soldier, & a gallant fellow, thought that *Buckingham* did not give that reſpect to him, was due to his own perſon, or to the perſon of ſo great a King, whoſe perſon he re-

represented; *Juniosa* did as much scorn and slight *Buckingham*, and the Prince, who he found wholly governed by *Buckingham*; for now *Buckingham* had found by many passages, the Kings desire to be rid of him, he made Court to the Prince, and so wrought himself into his affection, that *Damon* and *Pythias* were not more dear each to other, which by no means could the old King away with, nor in truth did any other like or approve of the Prince his poor spirit; fearing it foretold his future inclination, that could ever indure any familiarity with such an one as had put such foul scorns and affronts on him in his time of greatness, with the Father especially, calling to mind the bravery of his brother, who hated the whole Family for their general baseness, although none of them had ever offended him in

particular, as this man had done the Prince at two ſeveral times, before an infinite concourſe, by bidding him in plain terms kiſs his arſe once, a ſecond time offering to ſtrike him, ſaying in moſt undutiful terms, *by God it ſhall not be ſo, nor you ſhall not have it*, lifting up his hand over his head with a Ballon braſſer; that the Prince ſaid, what my Lord I *think you intend to ſtrike me*: The firſt of theſe at *Roiſton*, the ſecond at *Greenwich* before about 400 people. Theſe affronts were not to be indured by a private perſon, but by a Prince from a private perſon, ſurely it ſhewed a much leſs ſpirit then ſhould have been inherent to a Prince, and after this, to be ſo dear with him, as to be governed by him all his life time, more than his Father was in the prime of his affection, I can give it no title

mean

mean enough; it had been worthy the noble mind of a Prince to have forgotten ſuch injuries, as never to have revenged them when he had been King, but never to have ſuffered him to have come near his Court, to upbraid him with the ſight of ſo much ſcorn, and that publickly offered him before: But at that time I well remember ſome Criticks in Court did not ſtick to read his future deſtiny.

This *Junioſſa* being a brave daring Gentleman, uſed ſome ſpeeches in the derogation of the Prince, and *Buckingham*, as if they were dangerous to the old King; nay, *Junioſſa* ſent one *Padro Meceſtria*, a *Spaniſh* Jeſuite, and a great Stateſman, to King *James*, to let him know, that he, under confeſſion, had found the King was by *Buckingham*, or by his procurement, to be killed, but whether

ther by poyſon, Piſtol, Dagger, &c. that he could not tell.

The King, after the hearing of this, was extream melancholly, and in that paſſion was found by *Buckingham* at his return to him. The King, as ſoon as ever he eſpied him, ſaid, Ah *Stenny*, *Stenny*, for ſo he ever called him in familiarity, wilt thou kill me? at which *Buckingham* ſtarted, and ſaid, who Sir hath ſo abuſed you? at which the King ſate ſilent; out went *Buckingham*, fretting and fuming, asked, who had been with the King in his abſence? It was told him *Padro Maceſtria*, then who brought him to the King? it was replyed, the Earl of *Kelly*; then flew *Buckingham* on him, to know how he durſt bring any one in to the King in his abſence, or without his licence? *Kelly* ſtood up cloſe to him (for you muſt know, *Kelly* was the

the trueſt alarum to give warning of the downfal of a Favorite, of any in the Court) and knew his power could do him no hurt with the King, in preſent; although it utterly caſt him out of all favor from the King in future.

Then *Buckingham* queſtioned *Padro Maceſtria*, which quarrel, *Junioſſa* undertook, and told him he would maintain him a Traytor, and wear his Maſters perſon on him; he was a Chivalier, and better born than himſelf, and would make it good of him with his Sword.

The Prince was by *Buckingham* made to write a Letter of complaint to the King of *Spain*, for abuſing him and *Buckingham*, but the King of *Spain* returned the Letter in a kind of ſcorn, to *Junioſſa*, not as blaming him, but rather commending him, and *Junioſſa*

*ossa* in scorn sent it to the Prince, as if he should say, there is your Letter to wipe ----, which is all it is fit for.

Now have you heard what made the King hate *Buckingham*, you shall also hear the reason of *Buckinghams* extream hatred to the King, which was believed the cause of his so speedy death. *Yelverton*, a very faithful servant to the King, and his Atturney General, and no less affectionate to *Somerset*, being formerly raised by him without any seeking of his, or so much as within his thought, in somuch as to express his love to *Somerset*, he desired to lay down that great place, rather then aggravate, as his place required, against him. This man, as well out of his faithfulness, as affection to *Somerset*, was made choyce of, to work the downfal of *Buckingham*, in which he apparently

rently ſhewed himſelf. But *Buckingham*, as I told you before, out of the Kings fear, that durſt not maintain his own deſign, but left his inſtrument to the mercy of *Buckinghams* tyranny, being once gotten out of this toil, like a chafed Beare, foamed, and bit at all came near him, and amongſt them, firſt faſtned on *Yelverton*, put him out of his place, and committed him cloſe Priſoner to the Tower; *Yelverton* having ſhewed himſelf ſo faithful to his Maſter, and he again ſo unfaithful to him, to leave him to undergoe the whole burden of *Buckinghams* fury, did fly out in ſome paſſion before *Balfore*, then Lieutenant of the Tower, and *Buckinghams* great creature.

*Balfore* telling the D. of ſome paſſages in his paſſion, the Duke one night about 12 a clock came in a diſguiſe, and with the Lieutenant

tenant only, entred *Yelvertons* lodging, *Yelverton* at first sight started, verily believing, he came in that manner to murther him; yet at last recollected himself, and said: My Lord, have you the Kings warrant for this? the Duke said, no; then said *Yelverton*, how dare you enter a close prisoners lodging? it is as much as your life is worth; and assure your self, Master Lieutenant, the King shall know of this, and you must answer it: My Lord said, I come to you as a friend, though formerly I confess, upon just cause, your mortal enemy; only to ask you but two questions, which if you will resolve me, I vow to be a greater friend now then ever an enemy, and can, and will restore you fourfold: *Yelverton* told him, if they were such as he might, he would.

The

The first he asked was, What wrong he had ever done him, that he so greedily thirsted after his blood? *Yelverton* replyed, never any, but I was set on by a power that I could not withstand, to do what I did; he asked him, by whom? by the King your Master said he, who hates you more then any man living, which you might well understand, when in his speech to the Parliament, he said, he would not spare any (no not any that were deareſt to him, or lay in his bosom) by which he pointed them to you.

Well said *Buckingham*, I see you have dealt like a Friend with me, by many other concurrences, as well as by this; give me your hand, henceforth you are my friend, and I am yours; and will raise you higher, then I have cast you down, which he had made good, had *Yelverton* lived to have

have injoyed it, for he was instantly releaſed, and the next preferment a Judges place, and had been Lord Keeper, had not death prevented. And if there were no reaſon, but his change, from a mortal enemy to ſo firm a friend, it were ſufficient to confirm the truth of this ſtory. But the Author had this from *Yelvertons* own relation, and cannot commend *Yelverton*, becauſe it is verily believed this haſtened the Kings death.

Now have you heard the true cauſes of *Buckinghams* hatred to the King, and the Kings to *Buckingham*, the King having the more power to revenge, had the leſs courage; *Buckingham* leſs power, but more courage, ſharpened with revenge: And however the world did believe the Kings inclination was out of a religious ground, that he might not revenge,

revenge, yet it was no other but a cowardly diſpoſition that durſt not adventure; But although the King loſt his opportunity on *Buckingham*, yet the black plaiſter and powder did ſhew *Buckingham* loſt not his on the King; and that it was no fiction but a reallity, that *Padro Mateſtria* had formerly told the King.

And now to return from this digreſſion, which is not impertinent (beſides a great ſecret,) the Prince returns from *Spain*, contrary to expectation) in which the wiſdom and gravity of the *Spaniard* failed him, eſpecially if they did believe *Padro Mateſtria* (beſides nature could not long ſupport the old King) and then the *Spaniard* might have made no little advantage by enjoying ſuch a pledge: But they have confeſſed their error, yet do paliate it with having the Prince

his faith and his proxy left with *Digby*, and got thence with the very same trick Sir *Francis Michael* said he got out of the Inquisition at *Rome*.

Now is all the fault laid on *Digbyes* false play and unfaithfulness to his Master, and combyning with the *Spaniard*, and by this piece of service expressing his hatred to the *Spaniard* for his own ends (the Subjects of *England* having ever naturally hated them) *Buckingham* from a most hated man then living, from an accused man in the former Parliament, came to be the very darling of this Parliament, and a favorite to the whole Kingdom, which after King *James* his death he as soon lost again, (so inconstant are the multitude.)

In the Banquetting-house before both Houses of Parliament, is *Buckingham* to give an account of

of his voyage, which he did at large, and to every full point as a further atteſtation, he ſaith, how ſay you Sir? to which the Prince anſwered *I, yea, or yes*, and through all his diſcourſe labored to make *Briſtol* as hateful to this Parliament, as himſelf had been to the former, which, had theſe things delivered by him, and atteſted by the Prince, been truths, he had juſtly deſerved death, the accuſations were foul and little leſs then treaſon, without any legiſlative power.

*Digby* had ſome friends who inſtantly ſent this Declaration into *Spain*, *Digby* acquaints that King, takes his leave of him for *England*: that King ſets his danger before him, offers if he will ſtay with him, ſeeing it is for his ſake, he is like to ſuffer, he would make him much greater in honor and fortune then his Maſter can do,

*Digby* gives him thanks, but ſays, he ſerved ſo juſt a Maſter that would not condemn him unheard, and ſhould he, yet he had much rather ſuffer under innocency, then lie under the imputation of a falſe accuſation, of a fugitive, and Traytor, for the higheſt preferment in the world.

Away therefore comes he, puts himſelf into a deſperate paſſage, leaſt the Parliament ſhould have been diſſolved before his coming, and ſo no place or means left him for his defence, but muſt lye under thoſe falſe calumnies, and was here (as the Prince came into *Spain*) ſooner then either looked for, or welcome.

Into the Parliament comes he, with his hat full of papers, where he puts himſelf upon this point, that if there were one ſillable true that *Buckingham* had delivered, if this (holding up a paper in his

his hand) be a true copy; I will yield my self guilty of all treasons can be laid to my charge, and said, these papers, (pointing to his hat,) shall make it manifest: Besides some of them shall make *Buckingham* appear a very monster in his lascivious carriages, too too unchaste for the ears of this Honorable Assembly: *Bristol* was instantly committed close prisoner to the Tower for a contempt; the next day he was riding through Cheap-side in his Coach, by which it appears *Buckinghams* power was in the wain with his old Master, his relation and accusation being scandalous and false; nor ever durst he bring *Bristol* to any further tryal.

Whether this wound was deeper given by *Bristol*, to *Buckingham*, or the Prince, I will leave to the reader to judge, and will not my self determine; And how

*Briſtol* hath ſince ſtood in favor with the Prince, ſince he was King, may give a conjecture, that he took it as a wound to himſelf; I am ſure it was an ill omen, and hath ſince given him leſs credit with his Subjects.

*Cranfield* accuſed in Parliament;

And in this Parliament doth *Buckingham* by his under-hand Miniſters and Agents, accuſe *Cranfield* the Lord Treaſurer in, in which the Prince alſo ſhews himſelf: *Cranfield* was ſo hated a fellow for his inſolency, that a ſmall accuſation would ſerve the turn, as this truly was, had his care of expending the Kings Treaſure been out of a true zeal, for it ſhould ſeem that the Prince ſending for monys, *Cranfield* reſtrained his expence, uſing ſome words, that the journy it ſelf was fooliſhly undertaken, and now muſt be maintained by prodigality, in which the Revenue of the King-

dom

dom would not satisfie their vast expences; if this had been spoken out of a Noble mind, or out of that feeling he had of the Kingdoms misery (as being Treasurer he ought to have done had he fallen, it had been with honor and a general compassion, but being spoken out of the pride and insolency of his own heart, whose mind was ever so base, as never to discern what Honor was, nor ever had he any other inherent Honor then what in his Apprentiship he raked out of the Kennel; besides it was known to be out of hatred, that he was not of councel in the undertaking, he then looking at himself as the only Statesman of all the Councel: He fell without pitty, and with much scorn, as I formerly set down; yet left in an higher estate & better condition then so worthless a fellow, and base Projector

deſerved, yet afterwards he was again queſtioned upon his accounts: But all this was nothing, himſelf and his poſterity, being left Peers of the Realm.

In this caſe was the Prince a principal actor, and did duly keep the earlieſt hours to ſit in that Parliament, where, then he diſcerned ſo much jugling even to ſerve his own ends on *Cranfield*, that it was not much to be wondred at, being come to be King, he did not affect them: And it was not well that a Prince ſhould ſhow ſo much ſpleen, though *Cranfield* deſerved any ill could be caſt on him, and who knows whether God doth now puniſh by Tallion law, to call his own ſin to remembrance, and to repent.

In this place I hold it not unfit to ſhew the Reader how the King hath ever been abuſed, and would

would be abuſed, by over much credulity, in the treaty of *Spain* for marriages, as well as in all other Negotiations.

You ſhall now perceive how the King was abuſed in this treaty, which was an error inexcuſable, in himſelf and whole Councel. The *Italians* having a Proverb, *He that deceives me once, its his fault; but if twice, its my fault*: this ſecond time therefore could not but be the only fault of the King and Councel.

In Prince *Henry* his life time, the King had a little man, but a very great and wiſe Counſellor, his Secretary of State, little *Saliſbury*, that great Stateſ-man, who did inherit all his Fathers wiſdom, as well as his Offices, and the ſame came little ſhort of the father, who was held the greateſt Stateſ-man in the world, of his time. It is true, that one State may

may abuſe another, but not find out the abuſe is an unpardonable fault in any Stateſ-man.

There was a treaty in the like caſe for Prince *Henry*, *Salisbury* inſtantly diſcovered the jugling before any other did think of any, for although it went forward cunningly, yet did *Salisbury* ſo put the Duke of *Lerma* unto it, that either it muſt be ſo, or they muſt confeſs their jugling.

The Duke of *Lerma* denyed that ever there had been any treaty, or any intention from that State; *Salisbury* ſent for the Embaſſador to a full Councel, told him how he had abuſed the King and State, about a treaty for Marriage, which he had no Commiſſion for; that therefore he was lyable to the Laws of our Kingdom; for when any Embaſſador doth abuſe a State by their Mrs. Commiſſion, then the ſervant was freed; but

but without Commiſſion, was culpable and lyable to be puniſhed by the Laws of that State, as being diſavowed to be ſerved to the King his Maſter: The Embaſſador anſwered gravely, he did not underſtand the cauſe of his coming, therefore was then unprepared to give any anſwer, but on Monday he would again come, this being Saturday, and give his anſwer. On Monday he comes, begins with theſe words, *My ſoul is my Gods, my life my Maſters, my reputation my own, I will not forfeit the firſt and laſt, to preſerve the ſecond*; Then layes down his Commiſſion, and Letters of inſtruction, under the own hand, he acquitted himſelf honeſtly to this State, yet loſt his own being inſtantly ſent for home, where he lived and dyed in diſgrace, here was, *Legatus vir bonus peregre miſſus ſed non ad mentiendum*

*tiendum reipublicæ causa* : And had we had as honeſt and good Stateſmen in aftertimes, this State could not have been ſo abuſed in all Treaties.

By this you ſee the advantage and benefit of one wiſe Counſellor in a whole State; and although *Solomon* ſay, By the multitude of Counſel doth a Kingdom floriſh, yet ſurely he intended they ſhould be wiſe men that are Counſellors; for we had ſuch a multitude of Counſellors, that a longer table, and a larger Counſel-chamber was provided, yet our State was ſo far from floriſhing, that it had been almoſt utterly deſtroyed; this was the laſt Stateſman worthy of that name; and now are the ancient ſtock of Stateſmen decayed, and with them all our honour and glory.

I ſhall now bring my Story to an

an end, as I ſhall this Kings life; although I have made ſome digreſſions, yet all pertinent to the diſcourſe of this Kings reign.

He now goes to his laſt hunting journey, I mean the laſt of the year, as well as of his life, which he ever ended in Lent, and was ſeized on by an ordinary Tertian Ague, which at the ſeaſon, according to the Proverb, was Phyſick for a King, but it proved not ſo to him; and poor King, what was but Phyſick to any other, was made mortal to him: yet not the Ague, as himſelf confeſſed to a ſervant of his, who cryed courage Sir, this is but a ſmall fit, the next will be none at all, at which he moſt earneſtly looked, and ſaid, Ah, it is not the Ague afflicteth me, but the black plaiſter and powder given me, and laid to my ſtomack; and in truth, the plaiſter ſo tormented him, that he

was

was glad to have it pulled off, and with it the skin alſo; nor was it fair dealing, if he had fair play (which himſelf ſuſpected) often ſaying to *Montgomery*, whom he truſted above all men, in his ſickneſs, for Gods ſake, look I have fair play) to bring in an Emprick, to apply any Medicines, whilſt thoſe Phyſicians appointed to attend him, were at dinner; nor could any but *Buckingham* anſwer it with leſs then his life at that preſent, as he had the next Parliament had it not been diſſolved upon the very queſtioning him for the Kings death, and all thoſe that proſecuted him, utterly diſgraced and baniſhed the Court.

*Buckingham* coming into the Kings Chamber, even when he was at the point of death, and an honeſt ſervant of the Kings crying: *Ah my Lord, you have undone*

*done us, all his poor ſervants, although you are ſo well provided you need not care*: At which *Buckingham* kickt at him, who caught his foot, and made his head firſt come to ground, where *Buckingham* preſently riſing, run to the dying Kings bed ſide, and cryed, *Juſtice Sir, I am abuſed by your ſervant, and wrongfully accuſed*, at which the poor King mournfully fixed his eyes on him, as who would have ſaid (not wrongfully) yet without ſpeech or ſence.

It were worth the knowledge, what his confeſſion was, or what other expreſſions he made of himſelf, or any other; but that is only known to the dead Arch-Biſhop *Abbot*, and the living Biſhop *Williams*, then Lord Keeper, and it was thought *Williams* had blabbed ſomething which incenſed the Kings anger, and *Buckinghams* hatred ſo much againſt him

him, that the loſs of his place could not be expiatory ſufficient, but his utter ruin muſt be determined, and that not upon any known crime, but upon circumſtances, and examinations, to pick out faults, committed in his whole life time; but his greateſt crime for the preſent, (no queſtion) was *lapſus linguæ*, but *quod defertur non aufertur*, for although he eſcaped by the calm of this Parliament, yet is he more ruined by this Parliament, and his own folly; and truly we may obſerve the juſt Judgment of God on him, for flying from the Parliament his protector, to give wicked Counſel to the King, his former proſecutor.

*And now have I brought this great Kings Reign to an end, in a volant diſcourſe, and ſhall give you his Character in brief, and ſo leave him in peace after his life, who was ſtiled the King of peace in his life.* The

# THE CHARACTER OF *KING* JAMES.

THis Kings Character is much easier to take then his Picture, for he could never be brought to sit for the taking of that, which is the reason of so few good pieces of him; but his Character was obvious to every eye.

He was of a middle stature, more corpulent through his cloathes then in his body, yet fat enough, his cloathes ever being made large and easie, the Doublets quilted for steletto

proof, his Breeches in plates, and full ſtuffed: He was naturally of a timerous diſpoſition, which was the reaſon of his quilted Doublets, His eye large, ever rowling after any ſtranger came in his preſence, in ſo much, as many for ſhame have left the room, as being out of countenance; his Beard was very thin; his tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him ſpeak full in the mouth, and made him drink very uncomely, as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup of each ſide his mouth; his skin was as ſoft as Taffeta Sarſnet, which felt ſo, becauſe he never waſht his hands, only rub'd his fingers ends ſleightly with the wet end of a Napkin, his legs were very weak, having as was thought ſome foul play in his youth, or rather before he was born, that

he

he was not able to ſtand at ſeven years of age, that weakneſs made him ever leaning on other mens ſhoulders; his walk was ever circular, his fingers ever in that walk fidling about his codpeice; he was very temperat in his exerciſes, and diet, and not intemperate in his drinking; however in his old age, and *Buckinghams* joviall Suppers, when he had any turn to do with him, made him ſometimes over-taken, which he would the very next day remember, and repent with tears; It is true, he drank very often, which was rather out of a cuſtom then any delight, and his drinks were of that kind for ſtrength, as Frontiniack Canary, High Canary wine, Trent wine, and *Scotiſh* Ale, that had he not had a very ſtrong brain, might have daily been overtaken, although he ſeldom drank at any one time above four

ſpoonfulls, many times not above one or two; he was very conſtant in all things (his Favorites excepted) in which he loved change, yet never caſt down any (he once raiſed) from the height of greatneſs, though from their wonted nearneſs, and privacy; unleſs by their own default, by oppoſing his change, as in *Somerſets* caſe: yet had he not been in that foul poyſoning buſineſs, and ſo caſt down himſelf; I do verily believe not him neither; for all his other Favorites he left great in Honor, great in Fortune; and did much love *Mountgomery*, and truſted him more at the very laſt gaſp, then at the firſt minute of his Favoriteſhip: In his Dyet, Apparrel, and Journeys, was very conſtant; in his Apparrel ſo conſtant, as by his good will he would never change his cloathes till very ragges; His faſhion never: Inſo-

much

much as one bringing to him a Hat of a *Spaniſh* Block, he caſt it from him, ſwearing he neither loved them nor their faſhions. Another time, bringing him Roſes on his Shooes, asked, if they would make him a ruff-footed-Dove: one yard of ſix penny Ribbond ſerved that turn: his Dyet and Journeys were ſo conſtant, that the beſt obſerving Courtier of our time was wont to ſay, was he aſleep ſeven years, and then awakened, he would tell where the King every day had been, and ever diſh he had had at his Table.

He was not very uxorious, though he had a very brave Queen that never croſſed his deſignes, nor intermedled with State affaires, but ever complyed with him, againſt the nature of any; but of a mild ſpirit in the change of Favorites; for he was ever beſt, when furtheſt from the

Queen, and that was thought to be the first grounds of his often removes, which afterwards proved habitual. He was unfortunate in the marriage of his Daughter, and so was all Christendom besides, but sure the Daughter was more unfortunate in a Father, then he in a Daughter; He naturally loved not the sight of a Souldier, nor of any Valiant man; and it was an observation that Sir *Robert Mansell* was the only valiant man he ever loved, and him he loved so intirely, that for all *Buckinghams* greatness with the King, and his hatred of Sir *Robert Mansell*, yet could not that alienate the Kings affections from him; insomuch as when by the instigation of *Cottington* then Embassador in *Spain*; by *Buckinghams* procurement, the *Spanish* Embassador came with a great complaint against Sir *Robert Mansell*, then

then at *Argiers*, to ſuppreſs the Pirats. That he did ſupport him having never a friend there (though many) that durſt ſpeak in his defence, the King himſelf defended him in theſe words: *My Lord Embaſſador, I cannot believe this, for I made choice my ſelf of him, out of theſe reaſons; I know him to be valiant, honeſt, and Nobly Deſcended as moſt in my Kingdom, and will never believe a man thus qualified will do ſo baſe an act.* He naturally loved honeſt men, that were not over active, yet never loved any man heartily until he had bound him unto him by giving him ſome ſuite, which he thought bound the others love to him again; but that argued a poor diſpoſition in him, to believe that any thing but a Noble mind, ſeaſoned with virtue, could make any firm love or union, for mercinary minds are carryed a-

way with a greater prize, but Noble minds, alienated with nothing but publick diſgraces.

He was very witty, and had as many ready witty jeſts as any man living, at which he would not ſmile himſelf, but deliver them in a grave and ſerious manner: He was very liberal, of what he had not in his own gripe, and would rather part with 100*li.* he never had in his keeping, then one twenty ſhillings piece within his own cuſtody: He ſpent much, and had much uſe of his Subjects purſes, which bred ſome claſhing with them in Parliament, yet would always come off, and end with a ſweet and plauſible cloſe; and truly his bounty was not diſcommendable, for his raiſing Favorites was the worſt: Rewarded old ſervants, and relieving his Native Country-men, was infinitely more to be commended in him

him, then condemned. In ſending Embaſſadors, which were no leſs chargeable then diſhonourable and unprofitable to him and his whole Kingdom; for he was ever abuſed in all Negotiations, yet he had rather ſpend 100000*li.* on Embaſſies, to keep or procure peace with diſhonor, then 10000*l.* on an Army that would have forced peace with honor: He loved good laws, and had many made in his time, and in his laſt Parl. for the good of his Subjects, & ſuppreſſing Promoters, and progging fellows, gave way to that *Nullum tempus, &c.* to be confined to 60 yeares, which was more beneficial to the Subjects in reſpect of their quiets, then all the Parliaments had given him during his whole Reign. By his frequenting Sermons he appeared Religious; Yet his Tueſday Sermons (if you will believe his own Country-men, that

that lived in thoſe times when they were erected, and well underſtood, the cauſe of erecting them were dedicated for a ſtrange piece of devotion.

He would make a great deal too bold with God in his paſſion, both in curſing and ſwearing, and one ſtrain higher, verging on blaſphemy; But would in his better temper ſay, he hoped God would not impute them as ſins, and lay them to his charge, ſeeing they proceeded from paſſion: He had need of great aſſurance, rather than hopes, that would make dayly ſo bold with God.

He was ſo crafty and cunning in petty things, as the circumventing any great man, the change of a Favorite, inſomuch as a very wiſe man was wont to ſay, he believed him the wiſeſt fool in Chriſtendome, meaning him wiſe in ſmall things, but a fool

fool in weighty affaires.

He ever desired to prefer mean men in great places, that when he turned them out again, they should have no friend to bandy with them: And besides, they were so hated by being raised from a mean estate, to over-top all men, that every one held it a pretty recreation to have them often turned out: There was in this Kings time, at one instant living, two Treasurers, three Secretaries, two Lord Keepers, two Admirals, three Lord Chief Justices, yet but one in play, therefore this King had a pretty faculty in putting out and in: By this you may perceive in what his wisdom consisted, but in great and weighty affairs, even at his wits end.

He had a trick to couzen himself with bargains under hand, by taking 1000*li.* or 10000*li.* as a bribe, when

when his Counſel was treating with his Cuſtomers to raiſe them to ſo much more yearly, this went into his Privy purſe; wherein he thought he had over-reached the Lords, but couſened himſelf; but would as eaſily break the bargain upon the next offer, ſaying, he was miſtaken and deceived, and therefore no reaſon he ſhould keep the bargain; this was often the caſe with the Farmers of the Cuſtomes; He was infinitely inclined to prayer, but more out of fear then conſcience, and this was the greateſt blemiſh this King had through all his Reign, otherwiſe might have been ranked with the very beſt of our Kings, yet ſometimes would he ſhew pretty flaſhes which might eaſily be diſcerned to be forced, not natural; And being forced, could have wiſhed, rather, it would have recoiled back to himſelf, then carryed

carryed to that King it had concerned, leaſt he might have been put to the tryal, to maintain his ſeeming valor.

In a word, take him altogether and not in pieces, ſuch a King I wiſh this Kingdom have never any worſe, on the condition, not any better; for he lived in peace, dyed in peace, and left all his Kingdoms in a peaceable condition, with his own Motto:

*Beati Pacifici.*

Now

NOW having brought this peaceable King to rest in all peace, the 27th. of *March* his son, by the sound of the Trumpet, was Proclaimed King, by the name of CHARLES the FIRST.

His Fathers Reign began with a great plague, and we have seen what his Reign was; His Sons with a greater plague, and the greatest that was ever in these parts, we shall see what his Reign will be, and the effects of this Plagues end, hang as a fatal commet over this Kingdom, in some parts, and over *London* in more particular, ever since: and we earnestly pray we may not fall into the hands of men, but under the reproofs of our merciful God.

This

This King was not Crowned with that ſolemnity, all other Kings have formerly been, by riding through the City in all ſtate, although the ſame Triumphes were provided for him, as ſumptuous as for any other; this, ſome have taken as an ill omen: Its further reported, which I will not believe, that he took not the uſual Oath all Kings are bound unto, at their Coronation, and its to be read in *Covells* book, if ſo, ſure its a worſe omen:

One more obſervation is, of this King, which I remember not in any other Kingdom, I am confident never in this; That with this King did alſo riſe his Fathers Favorite, and in much more glory and luſter than in his Fathers time, as if he were an inheritor of his Sons favors, as the Son of the Fathers Crown, and this as it happened was the worſt omen

of

of all, for whereas in the Fathers time, there was ſome kind of moderation, by reaſon he was weary of the inſolency of his Favorite; in the ſons time he reigned like an impetuous ſtorm, treading down all before him that ſtood in his way, and would not yield to him or comply with him; This ſhewed no Heroical or Kingly ſpirit, for the King ever to endure him, that had put ſuch ſcorns, and inſolent affronts on him in his fathers time.

This King (as his Father did ſet in peace) did riſe like a *Mars*, as if he would ſay, *Arma virumq; Cano*, and to that end, to make himſelf more formidable to *Spain* and *France*, he called a Parliament, wherein never Subjects expreſſed more hearty affections to a Prince; and in truth, were more loving than wiſe, for as if for an income to welcome him, they

they gave two intire Subsidies, & in it brake the very foundation & priviledges of Parliament, which never was wont to give Subsidies but as a thankful gratuity for enacting good Lawes, therefore it is but Gods justice to repay them with Tallions lawes, to have their Priviledges broken, seeing they first chalked out the way; the King in requital of this great love of theirs, did instantly dissolve the Parliament, which hath bred such ill blood in the veines of the Subjects to their Sovereign, and the Sovereign to the Subject, that its like to produce an epidemical infection.

But the occasion taken to dissolve it was worst of all, for *Buckingham* by his insolent behavior had not onely lost that love, his hatred to *Spaine* had procured him, but was now grown into such an hatred that they fell on

him for the death of his old Maſter, which had been of long time whiſpered; the Examinations bred ſuch confeſſions, that it looked with an ugly deformed poyſonous countenance, and nothing but the diſſolution of that Parliament could have ſaved his diſſolution, and that with a brand of ſhame and infamy, as well as ingratitude.

I remember I heard an old Parliament man, and a noble Gentleman of that Committee for Examinations ſay, at firſt he derided the very thought of it; but after the firſt dayes Examination it proved ſo foul, as that he both hated and ſcorned the name of *Buckingham*; and though man would not puniſh it, God would, which proved an unhappy prediction.

This diſſolving the Parliament was ill reliſhed by the people, and the ſeeming cauſe worſe, and to make

make the caſe worſe, and that it muſt needs be the evident cauſe; *Buckinghams* Counſels were ſo ſtupid and himſelf ſo inſolent, that he did think it a glory to diſgrace all that followed that buſineſs, that Parliament, or ſeemed inquiſitive; and cauſed many old Servants of the Kings, he formerly favoured very much, to be baniſhed from Court, never to return more, nor did they ever, as *Clare*, *Crofts*, Sir *F. Stewart*, nay D. *Cray*, his Phiſitian, who from his very childhood, had the general repute of a very honeſt man, for expreſſing himſelf like an honeſt man in the Kings preſence, was inſtantly diſmiſſed, never could recover his place or favor more.

Now alſo is *Williams* L. Keeper turned out of his place, and *Coventry* the Kings Atturney (who had *Buckingham* lived had as ſoon) followed in his ſtead,

Then goes *Buckingham* into *France* on a ſtately Embaſſie for that Lady the King had ſeen, and ſet an affection on in his paſſage to *Spaine*, which was obtained with ſmall intreaty.

Now doth *Buckingham* ſoare ſo high in his Maſters favours and pride of his own heart, as he alters all great Officers, makes war againſt *France* & *Spaine*, the quarrel only his, voiced to be on ſtrange grounds, the ſucceſs accordingly, Navies, Armies, & nothing but war appears, as if we intended in time to conquer all that oppoſed; L. *Wimbledon* the General, from whom as little was expected, as he performed, carrying a powerful Army to *Cales*, after an infinite expence, & drinking much *Spaniſh* Wines, & beating out the heads of what they could not drink, returned as like a valiant Commander, as he ever was reputed. Then

Then is *Denbigh* ſent into *France* to aid *Rochell*, who managed it better then his great Kinſman, who would afterwards needs goe to do great exploits, for he brought his ſhip and men ſafe againe, the other left his men in powdering tubs, as if he meant to have them kept ſweet againſt his coming thither: In ſhort, this unhappy voyage loſt all the honor our glorious anceſtors have ever gotten over that Nation, there being ſo many brave gentlemen wilfully loſt, as if that voyage had been on purpoſe plotted to diſable our Nation, by taking away ſo many gallant brave young ſpirits.

FINIS.